

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN DUALISM

Constantine of Mananalis, who was born in the reign of Constans II (641–68), was considered by Byzantine theologians to be the founder of Christian dualism in the sense that, while teaching that the material universe was not the creation of the Good God but of an autonomous evil principle, he would only accept the canonical Christian scriptures, or some part of them, as authoritative.¹ Christian dualism was to form a very important dissenting tradition in the Orthodox world of Byzantium for the next 800 years, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was to spread to western Europe, where its adherents were known as Cathars.

But the Byzantine scholars who wrote about heresy thought that Constantine of Mananalis was only pretending to teach a new form of belief. For the most part they agreed with the author of Ecclesiastes that 'there is no new thing under the sun' (Eccles 1.9). When confronted with some new heretical movement their instinctive response was to equate it with some more ancient sect with which it shared certain characteristics. This can cause problems for the modern student, because the Orthodox theologians sometimes wrongly assumed that the new heretics shared all the beliefs and practices of the old sectarians with whom they had often arbitrarily identified them. Byzantine writers working in this tradition were convinced that all Christian dualists were Manichaeans in disguise, and so persuasive have their arguments proved that to this day those Christian dualists are sometimes referred to as neo-Manichaeans.

Nevertheless, the comparison is misleading, for although the Manichaeans had been dualist, they had not been Christian. Mani (216–77) was a Persian nobleman who founded a new, syncretistic mystery religion: his dualist cosmology was Zoroastrian; his belief in the reincarnation of beings in the ceaseless wheel of existence was Mahayana Buddhist; while his teaching about salvation through knowledge was derived from Gnostic Christianity. He taught that the entire physical creation was evil in its nature, apart from spiritual elements which were trapped in it, notably the souls of living creatures which were subject to

¹ See below, p. 8.

transmigration. He offered his followers deliverance at death from reincarnation in this material world, provided that they were initiated into his faith and led lives of great austerity. Though his religion proved attractive to some Christians, and was designed to be so, Mani did not regard the Christian scriptures as authoritative, but wrote a number of books himself which were treated by his followers as the sacred texts of their faith.²

Manichaeism spread into the Roman Empire in the late third century and persisted there until it was extirpated by the persecution of the Emperor Justinian (527–65).³ In Iraq and Persia the movement survived until the tenth century and also spread into central Asia and China.⁴ But although Manichaeism survived as a living faith in the period with which we are concerned in this book and may even on occasion indirectly have influenced the movements we are describing, the Christian dualists were not ‘new Manichaeans’ in any but a typological sense, and they were always willing to anathematize Mani and his followers.

It is also sometimes claimed that some Christian dualists, notably the Bogomils, were really Gnostics.⁵ Gnosticism, which developed at about the same time as Christianity, encompassed a wide variety of schools of thought, all of which shared a common cosmology: belief in the existence of a perfect spiritual world, coupled with a conviction that the universe in which we live is imperfect because it has come into being as the result of a cosmic accident. All Gnostics believed that the deliverance of the spiritual part of man from this flawed world was dependent on *gnosis*, the knowledge of the truth about the human condition.⁶ Christian Gnostics interpreted the Old and New Testaments in accordance with their cosmological premises, and claimed that they had received the esoteric teaching of Christ which unlocked the mysteries of the sacred writings, but which was concealed from ordinary Christians belonging to the Great Church.⁷

There is no evidence known to us of organized Gnostic groups surviving in the Byzantine world after the sixth century, so they are unlikely to have had any direct influence on the Christian dualists, but they had left

2 For further reading about the Manichaeans see Lieu, *Manichaeism in the later Roman empire and medieval China*; Puech, *Le Manichaeisme*; Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism*.

3 Lieu *Manichaeism in the later Roman empire and medieval China*, pp. 168–75.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 78–85, 178–219.

5 E.g. Söderberg, *La religion des Cathares*.

6 For further reading about the Gnostics see Filoramo, *A history of Gnosticism*; Rudolph, *Gnosis*.

7 *The Nag Hammadi library in English*.

many writings, often attributed to Old and New Testament figures to enhance their authority. Many of these works were preserved in Byzantine libraries, and some of them did later become known to those dualist groups.

The only Gnostics who may have survived into the age of Christian dualism were the Marcionites. Marcion (d. *c.* 160) was concerned with the problem, which has troubled many Christians through the ages, of the contrast between the God of the Old Testament and the God revealed by Jesus Christ. He taught that the creator of this universe was the God of the Old Testament and a God of Justice who treated his creation harshly. The God of the New Testament, who is the God of Love, was extraneous to this creation, but, having become aware of the plight of men living here, sent his Son Jesus Christ to rescue them.⁸ Marcion founded an episcopal church which may have survived in Asia Minor into the seventh century,⁹ but there is no evidence that it influenced the Christian dualists. Indeed, the differences between Marcionism and later dualist movements like Paulicianism and Bogomilism are greater than the rather superficial similarities between them.

The Christian dualists of the Middle Ages were not the spiritual descendants of the Gnostics, even though they read some Gnostic books, for Christian Gnosticism was not so much an alternative version of Christianity as a theosophical movement presenting a quite different view of the universe, while using a largely Christian vocabulary. Nor were they new Manichaeans as the Orthodox claimed, for Manichaeism was a religion in which Jesus did not have a unique role, while to the Christian dualists he was the only saviour, just as he was to the Orthodox. The Christian dualists were not an alien graft on a Christian stock, but dissenters who had broken away from the Orthodox Church and interpreted the Christian faith in an exceptionally radical way.

This new heresy came into being in the second half of the seventh century, which was a time of great change throughout the Near East. The Arab followers of the prophet Muhammad in the century following his death in 632 absorbed the Persian Empire, conquered the Byzantine provinces on the southern shores of the Mediterranean from Cilicia to Mauretania, and established a new Islamic state which stretched from

8 For a brief study of Marcion see the introduction to Evans, ed. and tr., *Tertulliani adversus Marcionem*, I, pp. ix–xxiii.

9 Jarry, 'Hérésies et factions à Constantinople du V^e au VI^e siècle', pp. 348–71.

the foothills of the Pyrenees to the Indus valley. Thereafter the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire ran from the Mediterranean coast west of the Taurus Mountains to the Black Sea coast east of Trebizond. As a result of these huge territorial losses, the Byzantine Empire became almost coterminous with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and consequently the fortunes of the Byzantine state became more closely identified with those of the Orthodox Church.¹⁰ Until the eleventh century the Byzantine Church and the Catholic Church of the West formed a single communion: the differences between them were largely cultural.¹¹

The Orthodox Church claimed the right to define heresy and to excommunicate those heretics who would not be reconciled, and the Byzantine emperor claimed the right to punish those whom the Church labelled heretics.¹² When Justinian I (527–65) systematized the Roman law code he equated heresy with treason, and made both capital offences. His legislation against the Manichaeans was particularly harsh: ‘We decree that those who profess the pernicious error of the Manichaeans shall have no legal right or official permission to live in any place in our republic [*sic*] and that if they shall have come there or been found there they shall undergo capital punishment.’¹³ This law was later invoked against Christian dualists whom the Orthodox authorities believed to be Manichaeans. They viewed them with particular detestation because they really did suppose that they were not Christian at all, but only claimed to be so in order to infiltrate and ultimately destroy the Orthodox Church.

Christian dualism is first found in Armenia. Armenians are justifiably proud that theirs was the first state to accept Christianity under Tiridates III (d. 314). In the fifth century the Bible and the service books were translated into Armenian, and the Armenian Church became autonomous under a Catholicus. In 451 a rift developed between the Armenian and Byzantine Churches because the Armenians refused to recognize the Fourth general Council of Chalcedon at which they had not been represented.¹⁴ Nevertheless, a schism was averted for many centuries. Armenians who migrated to the Byzantine Empire accepted the canonical authority of Greek bishops, while conversely the Byzantines did not

10 Whittow, *The making of Orthodox Byzantium*, pp. 38–95.

11 Every, *The Byzantine patriarchate*.

12 On the principles underlying Byzantine canon law see A. Schmink in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan, I, pp. 372–4.

13 *Cod. Iur. Civ.* I, 5, 12, 2–3, ed. P. Kreuger, *Corpus Iuris Civilis* II, p. 53.

14 Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, pp. 86–93.

attempt to appoint a rival Greek hierarchy in Armenian lands when they established political control there.¹⁵ Despite this appearance of good will considerable tensions existed between the two confessions. The Council in *Trullo* of 691–92, which carried out a wide-reaching review of Byzantine canon law, was critical of certain Armenian practices,¹⁶ and Byzantine churchmen in general clearly regarded Armenians with some misgivings, as though their orthodoxy was suspect.

Since the late fourth century Armenia had been partitioned between the empires of Rome and Persia, but the Arabs began raiding Byzantine Armenia in 640, and despite a spirited opposition had conquered it by 661.¹⁷ Even before the Arab invasions there had been some Armenian immigration into the Greek lands of Byzantium, but after 640 this became much greater. Many of the refugees settled in an arc of territory stretching from Trebizond to Caesarea, which came to be called the Armeniakon theme.¹⁸ Attempts to enforce religious conformity on these immigrants caused some of them to return to Armenia, where the new Islamic rulers were more tolerant of their traditional faith.¹⁹ This was the context in which the Paulician movement evolved.

THE PAULICIANS

Sources and beliefs

All the sources for the study of Paulicianism were written by their religious opponents, apart from some extracts from the letters of their leader Sergius, which are quoted by Peter of Sicily, and some statements made by Paulicians which are recorded in other Orthodox sources. This is a familiar problem to medieval historians dealing with dissenting movements. Most of what we know about the Paulicians comes from Greek sources. Arab writers have little to say about them except in the ninth century when they were briefly a political force, while the Armenian sources are not very helpful about the early history of the movement.²⁰

15 This system only ended in the reign of the Catholicus Khatchik I (971–92); Every, *Byzantine Patriarchate*, p. 72, n. 3.

16 *Canones Trullani sive Quinisextae Synodi*, nos. xxxii, xxxiii, lvi, xcix, in Mansi, XI, 955–9, 969–70, 985–6.

17 Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, p. 90, n. 1.

18 Theme (from *thema*, 'army') was the Byzantine name for a province. See map.

19 Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, p. 198, note.

20 See Appendix 2.

The Greek sources have been edited by a group of scholars at the Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines at Paris, on whose editions of the Greek texts our translations are based. There are three principal texts: the *History of the Manichaeans who are also called Paulicians* of Peter of Sicily; the *Epitome about the Paulicians who are also the Manichaeans* of Peter the Abbot; and *The Abridged Account of the recent reappearance of Manichaeans* by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. c. 893). Peter of Sicily's work survives only in a single eleventh-century copy [7], in which he is also identified as Peter the Abbot, the author of the *Epitome*. That is a precis of the *History* and is more clearly arranged, though it contains little extra information [8]. Photius' *Account* exists in ten manuscripts, but is entirely derived from Peter of Sicily's *History*, although on a few points it does help to clarify obscurities in Peter's text. We have therefore not translated it, but have noted the relevant points in our commentary on Peter's work. Photius, although a controversial figure in his lifetime, was justly considered one of the great scholar-churchmen of Byzantium after his death,²¹ and this accounts for the popularity of his work, but Peter is the prime source for the history and faith of the Paulicians. Some additional information can be found in a set of Abjuration Formulae drawn up by the Orthodox Church for the reception of Paulician converts [11]. There are also some references to Paulicians in contemporary chronicles and in other Byzantine sources.

Nothing is known about Peter of Sicily beyond what he tells us. He was an abbot, and presumably one of that group of Sicilians who assumed a high profile in the Byzantine Church during the post-Iconoclast period of whom the Patriarch Methodius I (843–47) is the most eminent example.²² In 869–70 Peter was sent as ambassador by the Emperor Basil I to the Paulician ruler Chrysocheir, who had established an independent state on the Arab–Byzantine frontier. The choice of a churchman to lead a mission of this kind may reflect the desire of the Byzantine government to obtain accurate information about the beliefs of the Paulicians, about whom they had received conflicting reports, as only an envoy with a theological training would have been competent to evaluate such evidence.

The Paulicians were absolute dualists:

They say: 'There is only one thing which separates us from the Romans [i.e. the Orthodox], that we say that the heavenly father is one God who has no power in this world, but who has power in the world to come, and that there is another

²¹ Dvornik *The Photian Schism*.

²² Another was Gregory Asbestas, Archbishop of Syracuse (*ibid.*, pp. 13–19).

God who made the world and who has power over the present world. The Romans confess that the heavenly father and the creator of all the world are one and the same God.' [8]

In Peter's view this meant that they were Manichaeans: 'There are not two separate groups, but the Paulicians are also Manichaeans, who have added the foul heresy they discovered to the heresy of their predecessors and have sunk in the same gulf of perdition' [7]. Peter relates a legend which purports to explain the link between Mani and the Paulicians. There once lived in Arsamosata a Manichaean woman named Callinice who had two sons called John and Paul. She raised them in her faith and sent them out to preach. They conducted a mission in Phanaroia using Episparis as their base: 'the heresy took its name from its preachers', Peter concludes: 'From that time instead of Manichaeans they were called Paulicians' [7]. This story carries little conviction. Callinice is not historically credible, for although women could become Manichaean elect, that involved a life of continence and they never held any position of authority in the hierarchy. Callinice, the Manichaean mother and organizer, is therefore literally unbelievable.

Peter of Sicily's explanation of the name Paulician is not acceptable either, because there is no evidence that John and Paul, the sons of Callinice, ever existed. Paulician was a name which other people gave to the sect whose members simply called themselves Christians.²³ Paulician is a Graecized form of the Armenian word *Paylikeank*, formed from a derogatory diminutive of the name Paul. It means 'the followers of the wretched little Paul'.²⁴ Who was this Paulnik? Such a term would not have been used of the Apostle Paul; nor does it refer to Paul of Samosata, the most famous heretical Paul, whose followers were called Paulinians by the Armenians, and whose teachings have nothing in common with those of the Paulicians.²⁵ The most likely origin of the name is that suggested by Lemerle: that it comes from the Paulician leader Paul, who took his followers back to Armenia in the early eighth century and refounded the sect.²⁶

Lemerle has argued that the first ninety-three chapters of Peter of Sicily's work, which include the material about John and Paul, were based on what he had learned about the Paulicians from hearsay in Constantinople, but that from about chapter ninety-four onwards he was reporting

23 [7].

24 Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 55.

25 Appendix 2.

26 Lemerle, 'L'Histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure', *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 52. [7].

what he had learned from the Paulicians themselves at Tefrice.²⁷ They traced their origins to Constantine of Mananalis, who had lived in the reign of Constans II (641–68) and had sheltered a deacon, returning home from prison in Syria, who had given him a Gospel Book and a book of the Epistles of St Paul, on which he had based his teaching. Peter made the gratuitous assumption that Constantine was a Manichaean, who traced his spiritual descent from the sons of Callinice, and that fearing the Byzantine heresy laws he had decided to abandon the Manichaean books on which he had hitherto based his teaching, together with the Gnostic works of Valentinus and Basilides, and base his Manichaean teaching instead entirely on the Christian scriptures. There is no evidence of any Gnostic or Manichaean influence in the Paulician tradition, so this appears to be pure fantasy.

It is not necessary to link Constantine with the Manichaeans to explain how he became familiar with the concept of dualism, since that was a central tenet of Zoroastrianism, the established religion of the Persian Empire, which had ruled half of Armenia until 640. The dualism of Constantine was different from that of the Zoroastrians, for whereas they believed that the material world was the creation of the Good God, Constantine considered it the work of the evil principle. But the two faiths had much in common, for they both shared a view of cosmic history as a duel between the forces of good and evil in which man has a key role to play, and neither of them had any tradition of asceticism.²⁸

Constantine identified himself as a Christian and based his teaching on the Bible, but only accepted a part of it. He rejected the entire Old Testament, but accepted as canonical the four Gospels and the fourteen Epistles of St Paul. Peter of Sicily says that in his day the Paulicians also accepted the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles of St James, St John and St Jude, but the status of those books seems to have been a matter of debate among them.²⁹ Lemerle points out that there is no evidence that the Paulicians considered the Revelation of St John as canonical, and it is known that they excluded the Epistles of St Peter from their New Testament, although it is not known why.³⁰

27 Lemerle, *T & M* 5, pp. 17–26. The *History* is clearly a composite document, and this is the most convincing explanation of that fact. N.G. Garsoian seeks to explain it in a complicated way, which is based on the false assumption that Peter of Sicily wrote in the reign of Constantine VII (944–59) (*The Paulician heresy*, pp. 27–79).

28 Zachner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism*.

29 Photius, *Récit*, c. 28, *T & M* 4 (1970), p. 129.

30 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 131. Peter of Sicily offers his own polemical explanation of the omission of the Epistles of St Peter from the Paulician canon [7].

Their faith centred round Jesus Christ, but they believed that he was a spiritual being who had come into this world but had not shared our humanity. This meant that Mary was not in any meaningful sense his Mother, a view graphically condemned in the oldest of the Abjuration Formulae: 'Anathema to him who . . . believes . . . that the Lord brought his body from above and made use of the womb of the Mother of God like a bag' [11(a)]. It followed from this that Christ could not have given his Church material sacraments, since the material world had not been created by the Good God and was not under his control. The Paulicians understood Christ Himself to be the sacrament of baptism, because he had said: 'I am the living water'; and they understood the institution of the Eucharist to refer to his teaching.³¹ They refused to venerate the cross, saying that Christ was himself the living cross, and they rejected the cults of the saints and of the icons. They claimed that theirs was the true church and rejected the Orthodox Church and its hierarchy. Their Orthodox critics were as scandalized by the devotional habits of the Paulicians as they were by their doctrinal assertions, in particular by their refusal to venerate the cross or to give cult to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints and angels.

The central teaching of the New Testament is that 'the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us' (John 1.14), and these writings do not lend themselves very readily to a purely spiritual interpretation of the kind which the Paulicians envisaged. So like every other Christian denomination they interpreted allegorically those New Testament texts whose literal meaning did not accord with their understanding of the faith.³²

The supreme authority in the Paulician Church during the first two centuries was a series of religious teachers called *didaskaloi*, the first of whom was Constantine of Mananalis. Peter of Sicily says that the Paulicians regarded them 'as apostles of Christ'. Each *didaskalos* seems to have been considered the authoritative teacher of the Christian revelation in his own generation: there could be only one legitimate *didaskalos* at a time, although there were quarrels about who should fill this office. In one passage Peter suggests that the *didaskalos* was chosen by his subordinate clergy, the *synekdemoi*, but if this was so, their function would seem to have been to authenticate a leader who had a divine charisma:

31 The Paulician quotation about living water was not exact, cf. John 4.10; their interpretation of the Eucharist is based on the saying of Christ, the Word of God, 'I am the living bread which came down from heaven', (John 6.51).

32 A practice sanctioned by Christ, who invoked the sign of Jonah as an allegory of his death and resurrection (Matt. 12.39-41).

there is no indication that there was any ceremony of ordination, and there were periods in Paulician history when there was no *didaskalos*.

The *synekdemoi* are Christian ministers mentioned in the New Testament on two occasions as assistants of St Paul. The word means 'travelling companions'.³³ Peter of Sicily tells us that they held positions of religious authority among the Paulicians, and were assisted by a subordinate group known as notaries, who 'are not distinguished from all the others by dress or diet or the rest of their manner of life' [7].

There is no indication in any of our sources that the Paulicians in Peter of Sicily's day had any initiation ceremony: 'They say that baptism is the words of the Gospel, as the Lord says, "I am the living water"' [8]. Nor is there any indication that at any time in their history the Paulicians had a class of initiates, like the Manichaean elect or the Cathar perfect. They are unique among dualist groups who attribute the creation of the phenomenal world to a malign god in not enjoining on their followers an ascetic way of life. They do not seem to have fasted or to have observed any food taboos. Their enemies accused them of sexual licence, homosexuality and incest, but these are commonplaces of orthodox polemic, tiresomely familiar to anyone who works on medieval heresy, and do not warrant serious attention.³⁴ But the Paulicians were unlike all other Christian dualists in that they had no tradition at all of sexual abstinence.³⁵ They married and procreated children, and this was true even of the *didaskaloi*. Finally, they were not in any sense world-renouncing: all of them had ordinary occupations. The Paulicians saw nothing incompatible with their faith in exercising temporal dominion or in being involved in power politics, and they had no inhibitions about taking life: on the contrary, they were universally admitted to be excellent fighting men. It appears to us that Constantine of Mananalis really did found a new type of Christianity, a world-affirming dualism based on his understanding of the New Testament.

The early history of the Paulicians

In the days of the Emperor Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, there was born in the territory of Samosata in Armenia an Armenian named Constantine, in a village called Mananalis, a village which even now rears Manichaeans. [7]

³³ Acts 19.29; 2 Cor. 8, 18–19.

³⁴ [8], c. 24; [1], c. 7.

³⁵ In this they were like the Zoroastrians (Zaehner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism*, pp. 265–83).

This passage is based on the account of their own origins which the Paulicians gave to Peter of Sicily. The emperor to whom it refers is Constans II (641–68).³⁶ Peter's account suggests that Constantine was a layman, while his name implies that he had grown up as a member of the Armenian Church. The story which Peter was told, of how Constantine sheltered a refugee deacon who gave him a Gospel Book and a Book of St Paul's Epistles, was presumably intended to symbolize how the first Paulician *didaskalos* learned the faith from studying the scriptures. This is a commonplace in the historiography of Christian sects which claim to have rediscovered the true apostolic tradition, but that Constantine's teaching was based on the New Testament alone, and that he only accepted certain parts of it, is evident from the way in which his Paulicianism developed.

Peter of Sicily quotes a passage from a letter in which the *didaskalos* Sergius (d. 835) lists seven Paulician churches. He attributes the foundation of six of them to himself and his predecessors, but writes of the seventh: 'Again I say that Paul established the Church in Corinth' [7]. Corinth, unlike the others, may be a symbolic Church, representing the Pauline tradition which Constantine claimed to have revitalized, or it may represent some earlier dissenting movement which the Paulicians considered formed the link between the Apostles and themselves. Certainly some early Christian sects survived in eastern Anatolia in the seventh century, with which Constantine could have had contact. I once suggested that the Church of Corinth referred to the Novatians, a doctrinally orthodox and deeply conservative group who had split from the Great Church in the mid-third century, but I made this point merely as a speculation, and neither I nor anybody else has yet found any firm evidence to support it.³⁷

Although Peter of Sicily's *History* is largely uncorroborated, it seems to be a substantially true version of what he was told, because it correlates very well with the known history of what was happening on a military and political level in the eastern provinces of the empire in the period he was describing. He tells us that when Constantine had worked out his version of the Christian faith he went to live in Cibossa near Colonea.³⁸ Lemerle has tentatively dated the beginning of Constantine's ministry

36 This emperor, the son of the short-lived Constantine III, was crowned as Constantine, and the name Constantine appears on his coins. He was called Constans by the chronicler Theophanes, and is now normally called Constans II.

37 Gouillard, 'L'Hérésie dans l'empire byzantin', *T & M* 1 (1965), pp. 299–312; B. Hamilton, 'The Cathars and the Seven Churches of Asia', pp. 269–95.

38 Colonea was the see of an Orthodox bishop and later became a provincial capital.

to c. 655, and this would fit quite well with Constans II's restoration of Byzantine control in Armenia in 654–55, because there would have been no frontier to cross between Mananalis and Colonea.³⁹ Constantine appears to have thought that he was reviving the true church which had been founded by St Paul: 'He used to show his disciples the book of the Apostle, which he had got from the deacon . . . saying: "You are the Macedonians and I am Silvanus sent to you by Paul"' [7]. This refers to St Paul's vision of a man saying 'Come over into Macedonia and help us' (Acts 16.9). Peter of Sicily thought this comparison absurd, but he was looking at Colonea from the viewpoint of Constantinople, perhaps even Syracuse, and saw it as somewhere in the distant East, near to Armenia. But if viewed from Armenia, as it was by Constantine, Colonea was in the land of the Greeks, a western region which might fittingly be referred to as Macedonia. In calling himself Silvanus, Constantine was following the monastic custom of taking a new name at profession to signify conversion of life. Silvanus was associated with St Paul in his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and it was no doubt this which suggested Constantine's choice of a name, for Thessalonica was the chief city of Macedonia.⁴⁰ Later *didaskaloi* followed Constantine's example and took the names of Paul's disciples, and also called their churches after places visited by Paul. The implication was that they were restoring the true apostolic Church.

Constantine–Silvanus ministered in the area round Colonea for twenty-seven years. He was then denounced to the Emperor Constantine IV (668–85), who sent an official named Symeon with orders to execute Constantine and to reconcile his followers to the Orthodox Church. This implies that Constantine had been accused of Manichaeism and that the emperor treated this very seriously, because there had been no outbreaks of that heresy in the empire for more than a century. Peter of Sicily reports that Constantine was stoned to death, but it is difficult to accept this, because stoning was not a normal punishment in Byzantine law and was not the penalty prescribed for Manichaeism. We would suggest that Constantine was executed in a conventional way and that

39 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 84. An alternative date for Constantine's journey to Episcaris is 657–58, when the Byzantines regained control of Armenia (Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, p. 90, n. 1).

40 Silvanus is mentioned in 2 Cor. 1.19, 1 Thess. 1.1 and also 1 Pet. 5.12, which the Paulicians did not read. Had they done so, Constantine might have been less anxious to adopt that name, because St Peter calls Silvanus his secretary. Although Paul was assisted in his mission at Thessalonica by St Silas (Acts 16), he should not be confused with Silvanus; they are different names.

the story of death by stoning was told by the Paulicians in order to draw a parallel between their first martyr and the first Christian martyr, Stephen.⁴¹

Constantine's followers were handed over to Orthodox churchmen to be converted from their error. Symeon returned to Constantinople, but had been so impressed by the faith of the Paulicians that he resigned his office and three years later returned to Cibossa and placed himself at the head of their community. His conversion, no doubt intentionally, parallels that of St Paul, who had been present at the stoning of Stephen. Symeon was recognized as the new *didaskalos*, and took the name of Titus, perhaps because of Paul's words: 'But God, who comforts the downcast, comforted us by the coming of Titus' (2 Cor. 7.6). Under his guidance the Paulician Church in Cibossa flourished once more until three years later, when Justus, the adoptive son of Constantine of Mananalis, developed doubts about whether Christian dualism was consonant with St Paul's teaching, and asked the Orthodox Bishop of Colonea to adjudicate between him and Titus in this dispute. The bishop denounced Titus to the Emperor Justinian II, and Titus and those loyal to him were condemned to death and burnt alive. No doubt the severity of this punishment was dictated by the fact that Symeon had once been an imperial official, and was therefore considered to have offended the emperor as well as Almighty God. These events are likely to have happened during Justinian II's first reign (685–95), for in 686–87 imperial forces with the help of the Khazars succeeded in regaining control of Armenia, which they held until 693, and the emperor was therefore in a position to intervene decisively in the eastern provinces.⁴²

Since Justus and his supporters had already been reconciled to the Orthodox Church, the Paulician Church of Macedonia at Cibossa was left in a fragile condition. One of its members, an Armenian named Paul who had escaped the persecution, fled with his sons, Genesius⁴³ and Theodore, to Episparis in Phanaroia, a region to the west of Colonea. Paul rallied the Paulicians, but did not exercise any religious authority over them. Nevertheless, it seems to have been from him that the

41 Cf. Acts 7.57–60.

42 Head *Justinian II of Byzantium*, pp. 33–4, 45–50, 63–4. The use of burning at the stake as a punishment for dualist heresy was a seventh-century innovation. The laws of Justinian I had decreed the execution of impenitent Manichaeans but had not specified what form this should take. See p. 4, n. 13 above.

43 Whom Peter of Sicily calls Gegnesius.

followers of Constantine of Mananalis took their name.⁴⁴ Both Paul's sons claimed to have received the charismata of a *didaskalos*, but he supported Genesius, who took the name in religion of Timothy, who had been one of the most trusted companions of St Paul, and had helped Paul and Silvanus in their missionary work.⁴⁵ Peter of Sicily relates that Timothy held office for thirty years, and as he probably died in 748, he must have become leader in c. 718.

The 'official' history of the Paulician movement which was told to Peter of Sicily was clearly not the whole story, any more than the Book of Acts gives a complete picture of the early spread of Christianity. There were Paulician congregations in places other than Cibossa and Episparis by the early eighth century. In c. 719 John of Ojun, Catholicus of Armenia (717–28), presided at a church council at Dvin at which the Paulicians (*Payl-i-keank*) were condemned. John also wrote a tract against them, in which he relates that they had been admonished by the Catholicus Nerses, but after his death 'had gone into hiding in certain other parts of our country'. That must have been Nerses III (641–61), for as Runciman points out, his reign coincided with the first preaching by Constantine of Mananalis.⁴⁶ John of Ojun added that the Paulicians had been joined by some iconoclasts from Caspian Albania who had been expelled from the Orthodox Church there.⁴⁷ This is confirmed by the twelfth-century Armenian historian, Samuel of Ani, who has preserved the text of the canons of a Council of the Albanian Church, held in the reign of the Armenian Catholicus Elias (703–17), outlawing the *Payl-i-keank*.⁴⁸ That Constantine of Mananalis had made converts in Armenia before moving to Greek territory, and that the movement had persisted there and spread into the distant lands of Caspian Albania, is clear from these Armenian records, and helps to explain the policies of some of the later *didaskaloi*.

44 These seem to be the true facts behind the story of John and Paul, the sons of Callinice, preaching the faith at Episparis, reported by Peter of Sicily. I am not convinced by Lemerle's suggestion that Episparis was on the Armenian frontier, not in Phanaroia *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 77–8.

45 Acts 16.1; Rom. 16.21; 1 Cor. 16.10; 2 Cor. 1.1; 1 Thess. 1.1; 3.2; Heb. 13.23; 1 and 2 Tim.

46 Runciman, *The medieval Manichee*, p. 34.

47 Canon 32 of the Council of Dvin and extracts from John of Ojun's Tract are reproduced in the Latin translation of the Venice edition of 1834 in Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, Appendix IV, pp. 152–4.

48 Translated in Garsoian, *Paulician heresy*, pp. 92–4, who argues for an earlier date for this Council. See Appendix 2 for a discussion of Dr Garsoian's views about the nature of Armenian Paulicianism.

The toleration of the Paulicians (c. 740–813)

Timothy was *didaskalos* in the reign of Leo III (717–41), when Byzantium was divided by the Iconoclast Controversy. In the Byzantine world during the sixth and seventh centuries a popular cult of religious devotion to images of Christ, of Mary his Mother and of the angels and saints had developed. Initially the term icon was applied to religious representations of all kinds, although later it became reserved chiefly for painted wooden panels. Those who found this form of religious activity congenial were known as iconodules. They argued that as God the Son had shared our humanity, it was legitimate to represent Him in material form, and if this was so, there could be no impropriety in representing the angels and saints, and that all reverence which was paid to a likeness was in fact paid to its prototype. Those who opposed the practice were known as iconoclasts, and they cited God's prohibition of graven images in the Second Commandment.

The iconoclasts found a champion in the Emperor Leo III (717–41), who became convinced that the excessive veneration paid to images rather than to God alone was the reason why for almost a hundred years Byzantium had been defeated by the Muslims, who, whatever their other errors, prohibited religious representational art.⁴⁹ In c. 730 he issued an edict ordering the destruction of all religious images throughout the empire, and although this led to the resignation of the Patriarch of Constantinople and provoked some strong opposition, it remained imperial policy.⁵⁰

Peter of Sicily relates that Leo III ordered the *didaskalos* Timothy to come to Constantinople, where he was examined by the patriarch, who is not named. This is likely to have happened after 726, when Leo's new law code, *The Eclogues*, came into force, enacting severe penalties against heretics, particularly Manichaeans.⁵¹ It was unusual for the patriarch to examine a provincial heretic in person, and I would suggest that Timothy's trial took place after the publication of the Iconoclast decree in 730. The Paulicians were strongly opposed to all religious images just as the emperor himself was, and the imperial officials in Constantinople who received the complaint against Timothy may have supposed that he was an Iconoclast who was being victimized by local officials with

49 Representational art is not prohibited in the Koran, but in a *hadith*, part of the oral tradition of the Prophet's teachings.

50 Hussey, *The Orthodox church in the Byzantine empire*, pp. 30–43; Bryer and Herrin, eds *Iconoclasm*.

51 *Ecloga*, pp. 129–32.

iconodule sympathies, and may therefore have convoked the case to the capital. If this hypothesis is correct, then Timothy would have been examined by the iconoclast Patriarch Anastasius (730–54).

Peter of Sicily relates how the patriarch required Timothy to anathematize those who denied the Orthodox faith, refused to show reverence to the Cross or reverence the Mother of God, and refused to receive Holy Communion. Timothy had no difficulty about condemning all these errors, the Paulicians told Peter of Sicily, because he understood these doctrines in an allegorical sense: by the Orthodox faith he understood the Paulician faith; by the Holy Cross he understood Christ with his arms outstretched; by the Mother of God he understood the heavenly Jerusalem; by receiving Holy Communion he understood receiving the sayings of Our Lord. The patriarch then asked him whether he believed in the 'holy, catholic and apostolic Church' and in baptism; the juxtaposition of these two questions suggests that Timothy was required to give his assent to the Nicene Creed, the standard profession of Orthodox belief, in which two consecutive clauses are: 'I believe in one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church; I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.' Timothy willingly assented, understanding the apostolic Church to be the Paulician Church, and baptism to be Christ himself, the living water. There is no reason to doubt the truth of Peter of Sicily's account, even though there is no surviving patriarchal record of the trial, for the acts of the iconoclast patriarchs were mostly not preserved by their Orthodox successors.⁵²

The trial must have taken place between 730, when Anastasius became patriarch, and Leo III's death in 741, and it had important consequences, for Timothy was declared Orthodox by the patriarch, and returned to Phanaroia with an imperial safe-conduct. In view of this, it is surprising to be told by Peter of Sicily that Timothy then took his followers back to Armenia, to Mananalis, the home of the Paulician founder Constantine, which was in Arab hands. But if the trial was held towards the end of Leo's reign, then Timothy's flight may have been occasioned by the revolt of Artavasdus, son-in-law of Leo III, who in 742–3 seized Constantinople and restored the icons.⁵³ Timothy may have judged that the new government would be unfavourable to a group

52 No other acts of the Patriarch Anastasius have been preserved. Grumel assigns the trial of Timothy to the Patriarchate of Germanus I, but admits that it might equally well have taken place in the reign of Anastasius (RP, no. 336, p. 6).

53 Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, pp. 413–21.

which had enjoyed the support of the Iconoclast Leo III and therefore have sought refuge with his followers in Arab territory.

Sergius, the last *didaskalos*, credited Timothy with founding the third Paulician church, that of Achaia, at Mananalis. Timothy died at Mananalis from the plague, it is generally assumed in the great epidemic of 748, though that is not certain. During his ministry the Paulicians had been transformed from a small, persecuted community into a respectable movement which enjoyed imperial protection and was able to spread in the Byzantine world as well as in the Christian Caucasus. That movement became even more widely diffused during the reign of Constantine V (741–75).

Timothy's death occurred just before the Abbasid revolution of 749 which overthrew the Umayyad Caliphate and convulsed the Islamic world.⁵⁴ The Emperor Constantine V (741–75) profited from this by invading Armenia and capturing Theodosiopolis in 751.⁵⁵ He took back to the empire all those Christians who wished to follow him, and later resettled some of them in Thrace to repopulate regions devastated by the plague of 748 and to defend them against the Bulgars. Among the immigrants were Paulicians, who were not treated as heretics because the Patriarch of Constantinople had declared them to be orthodox [1].

Constantine V was a convinced Iconoclast, and in 754 convoked what he held to be the Seventh Oecumenical Council, with power to define doctrine binding on the Catholic Church throughout the world. The Council declared that Iconoclast teaching was orthodox. But as only Byzantine representatives were present at it, it lacked oecumenical status in the eyes of the rest of Christendom.⁵⁶

In the wake of the Byzantine invasion there was a revolt in Armenia against Arab rule, and large parts of the country remained independent for more than twenty years. The Paulicians there were divided about the succession to Timothy, some following his son Zacharias and others his adopted son Joseph, each of whom claimed to be the new *didaskalos*. But some years later both leaders agreed to migrate into Byzantine territory with their followers at the same time. The catalyst which led to this *rapprochement* was probably the restoration of Islamic rule in Armenia by the Abbasid Caliphate in 772. Many Armenians sought refuge in Byzantine territory at that time, and the Paulicians seem to have been part of

54 Shaban, *The Abbasid revolution*; H. Kennedy, *The early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 35–56.

55 Laurent, *L'Arménie, entre Byzance et l'Islam*, p. 208.

56 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 38–41.

this general movement.⁵⁷ But the Arab frontier patrols challenged them, and many of Zacharias' followers were killed trying to cross into the Byzantine lands. Because Zacharias deserted them and fled in the face of danger, he lost his claim to be a *didaskalos*, and nothing more is known about him.

Joseph told the frontier patrols that his people, travelling in a convoy of wagons, were seeking new grazing lands in Syria, and they were allowed to proceed to the south; but later turned west and went to the centre of Paulicianism in Byzantine Anatolia, Episparis in Phanaroia. This episode is illuminating because it suggests that many of the Armenian Paulicians were transhumant herdsman, and this would certainly explain the willingness of members of the movement to travel long distances at short notice.

Joseph, now the undisputed *didaskalos*, took the name in religion of Epaphroditus, described by St Paul as 'my brother and fellow-worker, and fellow-soldier' (Phil. 2.25). He was warmly welcomed by the Paulicians of Episparis, where his father had once lived, but later a local official arrested the Paulicians while they were meeting for prayer. As Paulicianism was a licit religion at that time, Lemerle's suggestion that they were arrested for political reasons is plausible.⁵⁸ The arrival from across the Arab frontier of Armenians, whose leader was regarded as an authority figure by some of the local community, and who held large assemblies in private houses, might well have appeared suspicious to the imperial authorities.

Epaphroditus escaped arrest and went to Antioch in Pisidia in central Anatolia, which had been evangelized by St Paul.⁵⁹ There he founded the Paulician Church of Philippi, the name presumably being chosen because the first Epaphroditus had been a prominent member of the Pauline church of Philippi. After a ministry of almost thirty years Epaphroditus died some time before 800.

His successor, Baanes (Vahan in Armenian),⁶⁰ was born in Armenia and according to Photius had a Jewish father.⁶¹ He later joined Epaphroditus in Antioch in Pisidia and eventually succeeded him as *didaskalos*, but his leadership was challenged by a certain Sergius, whose followers

57 Laurent, *L'Arménie, entre Byzance et l'Islam*, p. 192.

58 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 68.

59 Acts 13.13–43.

60 Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy*, p. 119.

61 *Récit*, c. 94, *T & M* 4 (1970), p. 152.

always referred to Baanes as 'the Foul', and they were Peter of Sicily's informants.

Sergius was a Greek. He had been brought up as an Orthodox Christian in a village near Tavium in Galatia, and he was literate. Peter of Sicily relates that he became the lover of a Paulician woman who converted him to her faith, but a different tradition was known to later Byzantine writers, who claimed that Sergius' teacher had been a magician called Lycopetrus, or Peter the Wolf [16, 19]. Sergius was accepted by some Paulicians as *didaskalos* and took the name in religion of Tychicus, whom St Paul described as 'a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord' (Eph. 6.21). It is not known what happened to Baanes, except that some Paulicians remained faithful to him throughout Sergius' lifetime.

Sergius began his ministry in the reign of the Empress Irene (797–802), who, while regent for Constantine VI, had in 787 convoked the Second Council of Nicaea, which repealed the Iconoclast decrees and defined orthodox doctrine about the cult of images, pronouncements accepted as authoritative by the Churches of East and West.⁶² In Irene's reign and that of Nicephorus I (802–11) the Paulicians continued to enjoy legal toleration. Like St Paul, Sergius wrote pastoral letters to the Paulician churches, some of which Peter of Sicily cites, and he was later credited with writing a commentary on St Matthew's Gospel [16(d)]. He moved his headquarters to Cynochorion near Neocaesarea (Niksar), where he founded the Church of Laodicea, another Pauline name (Col. 4.15–16).

The Paulicians at Tefrice

The Patriarch Nicephorus (806–15) believed that the Paulicians were dualists, but they were also politically suspect, because units in the imperial army which had been disbanded by Irene for opposing her religious policies had joined the Paulicians, since they too rejected the cult of icons [2]. Moreover, in the reigns of Nicephorus I and Michael I the Paulicians were associated with anti-government demonstrations in Constantinople [3]. The Patriarch therefore persuaded the new emperor, Michael I (811–13), to declare the Paulicians heretical and to restore the death penalty for those who professed that faith.⁶³

Michael I's successor, Leo V (813–20), rescinded the edicts of the Second Council of Nicaea and restored Iconoclasm,⁶⁴ but he did not revoke the legislation against the Paulicians. This may have been because he

62 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 44–50.

63 Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, p. 99.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 111–40.

was an Armenian, perhaps a member of the princely family of Gnuni, and therefore connected to the Bagratid house, which was emerging as the dominant power in Armenia at that time.⁶⁵ He would therefore have been aware of the Paulicians' true beliefs. The heresy laws were certainly enforced, for St Theodore of Studium, the chief critic of the new Iconoclasm, protested vigorously, though unavailing, against the endorsement by the Orthodox Church of the death penalty for Paulicians [4], while St Macarius of Pelecete, a staunch iconodule, once found himself imprisoned with a group of Paulicians awaiting execution [5].

The prosecution of the Paulicians in Anatolia was spearheaded by Thomas, Archbishop of Neocaesarea, aided by the exarch Paracondacus, who arrested and executed a number of them. But then the members of the Paulician Church of Laodicea struck back and murdered Archbishop Thomas, while followers of Sergius called the *Astatoi* assassinated the exarch. Lemerle has suggested that the name *Astatoi* was derived from St Paul's description of the apostles as 'we who wander without a home'.⁶⁶ It would appear from later references to them that they formed the military wing of the Paulician movement. The *Astatoi* took refuge with the Emir of Melitene, who gave them the fortress of Argoun.⁶⁷ Peter of Sicily does not date this event, but the unusual grant of a border fortress to a group of Christian warriors, albeit heretical ones, would fit most naturally into the context of Thomas the Slav's rebellion. He was an iconodule pretender to the Byzantine throne, who, with the support of the Caliph al-Mamun, invaded Anatolia in 820 and was not defeated until 823.⁶⁸

Sergius-Tychicus and many of his other followers later joined the *Astatoi* at Argoun, where he founded the Paulician Church of the Colossians. He also travelled to Cilicia, where, presumably with the permission of the Emir of Tarsus, he conducted a mission and founded the Church of the Ephesians, based at Mamistra. Colossae and Ephesus were both Pauline churches with which the original Tychicus had had close links.⁶⁹ The converts must have come from the local Christian communities, since the conversion of Muslims to other faiths was an offence in Islamic law punishable by death. Meanwhile the *Astatoi* joined the Muslims of

65 Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian history*, pp. 200–1, n. 228.

66 *astatoumen*, 1 Cor. 4.11; Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 72.

67 The identity of this emir is uncertain; see the plausible suggestion of Cl. Cahen cited by Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 73, n. 64.

68 P. Lemerle, 'Thomas le Slave', *T & M* 1 (1965), pp. 255–97.

69 Col. 4.7; Eph. 6.21.

Melitene in raiding Byzantine Anatolia, perhaps in the reign of Michael II (820–30) and certainly in that of Theophilus (830–42).⁷⁰

Sergius did not take any part in the fighting, but earned his living, like the Church's Founder, as a carpenter. It was while at work that he met his death: 'For Tzanios, who came from the *kastellon* of Nicopolis, found [Sergius] in the mountain above Argoun cutting planks, seized the axe from his hands, struck him and killed him' [7]. This happened in 834–35, but nothing is known about the reason for it. Nicopolis is to the south of Colonea, and Tzanios may have been an Orthodox fanatic, but it is also possible that he was a member of the rival Paulician Church, the followers of the *didaskalos* Baanes, for after Sergius' death his followers began to kill those of Baanes until peace was mediated by Sergius' *synekdemoi*, Theodotus. Photius relates that in the late ninth century the schism between the followers of Sergius and those of Baanes had still not been healed.⁷¹

For reasons which are not known, no new *didaskalos* was ever recognized, and after Sergius' death the leadership of his followers passed to the six *synekdemoi* whom he had trained. They lived at Argoun, but many Paulicians continued to live in Byzantine territory.

When the Emperor Theophilus died in 842, his widow Theodora became regent for Michael III. She was an iconodule, and in 843 convoked a council which repealed all the iconoclast legislation and reinstated the canons of the Second Council of Nicaea as a true statement of the faith of the Orthodox Church.⁷² The Patriarch Methodius drew up the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, a list of heresies condemned by the Byzantine Church, which was to be publicly recited on the first Sunday of Lent each year, probably with effect from 844 [16]. The empress was anxious to enforce the new Orthodoxy, and the heresy laws against Paulicians were enforced with great vigour in the provinces [6(a)]. Among those executed was the father of the *protomandator* Carbeas, an important official on the staff of the governor of the Anatolikon theme. This caused Carbeas to revolt, and with a band of Paulicians said to number about 5,000, he fled to Argoun and placed his services at the command of the Emir of Melitene. Lemerle argues cogently that this happened in 843–4, since a contemporary source relates that Carbeas was already in command of Argoun in 844 when the Paulicians of Colonea

70 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 82–3.

71 *Récit*, c. 11, *T & M* 4 (1970), pp. 122–5.

72 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 62–5.

kidnapped the governor Callistus and handed him over to Carbeas [6(b)].⁷³

By 856 Carbeas and his followers had moved to Tefrice, a new fortress on the Byzantine frontier, where they were effectively independent of the Emir of Melitene.⁷⁴ Tefrice became a refuge for Paulicians who were persecuted in the Byzantine Empire, and Carbeas is said also to have offered attractive terms to non-Paulician Byzantines who would come and settle in this dangerous frontier zone. He continued to co-operate with the Muslims of Melitene in their raids on Byzantine territory until his death in 863.⁷⁵

He was succeeded as secular head of state by his nephew Chrysocheir, who was also his son-in-law, but Basileius and Zosimus, the two surviving *synekdemoi* of Sergius, were the religious leaders.⁷⁶ In 867 there was a palace revolution in Constantinople when Basil the Macedonian masterminded the assassination of Michael III and became the Emperor Basil I. Chrysocheir took advantage of the disruption which this caused, and raided Nicaea, Nicomedia and Ephesus in the extreme west of Anatolia.⁷⁷ This led Basil I to send Peter of Sicily to Tefrice to try to negotiate peace in 869–70, but he was only able to arrange the exchange of prisoners. The war continued; Chrysocheir was killed in action in 872, and his head was cut off and sent to the emperor as a trophy [9(a)]. But Tefrice remained independent until 878, when, having recently been damaged in an earthquake, it surrendered to the Byzantines.⁷⁸ The imperial authorities enlisted some of their defeated opponents in their own armies. A Paulician regiment commanded by Chrysocheir's trusted groom Diaconitzes served under Nicephorus Phocas the Elder on his Apulian campaign in 885, and Diaconitzes was later converted to Orthodoxy by the Emperor Leo VI (886–912) [9(b)].

The later Paulicians

Nothing is known about the organization of the Paulician Church after the fall of Tefrice, but the scattered congregations seem to have pre-

73 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 88–9.

74 Peter of Sicily says that this was done to escape the tyranny of the Muslims, and it is possible that the Emir of Melitene had restricted the full practice of the Paulician faith.

75 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), p. 93 and n. 19.

76 It is not known whether Chrysocheir the Paulician leader was the same as John Chrysocheir, with whom Photius at one time corresponded (Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 40–2).

77 *Ibid.*, p. 98; Grégoire, 'The Amorians and Macedonians', pp. 115–17.

78 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 104–8.

served a common sense of identity and belief, even though their communion lacked any organized structure. After the capture of Tefrice the systematic persecution of Paulicians living in imperial territory seems to have come to an end, although the Church authorities tried to persuade them by peaceful means to accept Orthodox baptism [11]. During the tenth and early eleventh centuries they spread more widely throughout Anatolia and are reported at Euchaita [12], Miletus [13], and in villages near Ephesus [18].

By the 970s the Byzantines had extended their eastern frontiers to the upper Euphrates and northern Syria, and groups of Paulicians living in those areas came under their rule.⁷⁹ Theodore II, Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch (970–76), persuaded John I Tzimiskes (969–76) to remove these heretics from the eastern provinces, and the emperor settled a large number of Paulicians at Philippopolis in c. 975, thus strengthening the Paulician presence in the Balkans [14]. But despite the Byzantine conquests, some Paulicians continued to live under Muslim rule until at least the early twelfth century, because a wide range of western writers name them as forming contingents in the Muslim armies that the First Crusade encountered.⁸⁰

After 975 the Balkan Paulicians are mentioned in Byzantine sources principally as good fighting men who were employed in the imperial armies despite their heretical beliefs. They seem to have lost their missionary zeal and to have been content with practising their faith within their own community. Even Euthymius of the Periblepton, normally so shrill in his reaction to heresy of any kind, merely says of the Paulicians: ‘their heresy is obvious and cannot harm anyone except those who hold it as an inherited tradition: no one is grieved or upset on their account’ [19]. George Maniaces took a Paulician detachment on his Sicilian campaign of 1038–41, and they were later redeployed in Apulia against the Normans [17]. In 1081 Alexius I (1081–1118) enlisted a regiment of some 2,800 Paulicians to repel the Norman attack on Dyrrachium [22(a)].

But the Paulicians considered themselves allies rather than subjects of Byzantium. Constantine IX (1042–55) had settled the Patzinaks, a war-like people from the south Russian steppes, in northern Bulgaria to defend the Danube frontier, but their loyalty was always uncertain,⁸¹

79 Whittow, *The making of Orthodox Byzantium*, pp. 310–27.

80 They are listed in Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy*, pp. 15–16.

81 M. Angold *The Byzantine empire*, pp. 14–17.

and the Paulicians sometimes supported them [20]. In a similar spirit of independence the Paulicians under Alexius' command returned home before the Norman campaign had ended, so in 1083, having beaten off the Norman threat, Alexius sought to reduce the Paulicians to obedience by requiring them all to receive Orthodox baptism. Reprisals were taken on those who refused: their leaders were imprisoned and the rest were evicted from their homes. This caused a revolt, led by Traulus, a trusted member of the imperial staff, who was a Paulician convert to Orthodoxy, but who objected to his sisters being made homeless. He allied with the Patzinaks and seized the hill fortress of Belyatovo near Philippopolis, from which Alexius found it impossible to dislodge them [22(b)]. The emperor's attempt to discipline the Paulicians had been premature, and he left them alone for the next thirty years. But in 1114 he made another personal attempt to convert the Paulicians of Philippopolis to the Orthodox faith. Although according to Anna Comnena so many Paulicians were baptised that her father had to build a new town for them to live in, many in fact remained firm in their belief, and two of their leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment [22(d)].

After Alexius' death the Paulicians attracted much less comment from Orthodox writers than the new heresy of Bogomilism. Some Paulicians, it seems reasonable to infer, were converted to Bogomilism,⁸² but this was probably true only of a minority. St Hilarion of Moglena found Paulicians in his diocese in the reign of the Emperor Manuel I (1143–80) [33], and when armies of the the Fourth Crusade captured Philippopolis in 1204–05 the Paulicians still occupied a quarter in the town and led the opposition to them [40].

The Paulicians are not known to have been persecuted by the Orthodox authorities in the later Middle Ages, and consequently nothing is known about them except that they survived as an independent religious communion after the Ottoman conquest. Pietro Cedolini, Pope Gregory XIII's Apostolic Visitor to the western provinces of the Ottoman Empire from 1580, and his successors in that office, discovered seventeen villages between Nicopolis on the Danube and Philippopolis inhabited by self-styled 'Paulians'. They were Paulicians: they venerated the Apostle Paul, had a horror of the cross of Christ, rejected all religious images and icons, refused baptism with water, dissociated themselves from the Orthodox Church, and used the Paulician canon of scripture.⁸³ In the end they were converted to Catholicism. Any detailed consideration of these

⁸² See below, pp. 35, 38.

⁸³ See above, pp. 6–10.

late Paulician communities is beyond the scope of this book, and we cite them simply as evidence of the resilience of the religious movement started by Constantine of Mananalis.⁸⁴

THE BOGOMILS

The Rise of Bogomilism

Peter of Sicily dedicated his *History of the Paulicians* to the Archbishop of Bulgaria.⁸⁵ In his introduction he explains that while visiting Tefrice in 869–70: ‘I had heard these blasphemers babbling that they intended to send some of their number to the country of Bulgaria to detach some from the Orthodox faith and to bring them over to their own foul heresy’ [7]. This report reads persuasively. Paulicians had been living in Thrace for more than a century, and the religious situation across the frontier in Bulgaria made it particularly susceptible to their influence. Peter’s report implies that the Paulician leaders in Tefrice were in regular contact with the Thracian Paulicians, from whom the missionaries to Bulgaria were presumably chosen.

The Balkans south of the Danube had been Christian in the sixth century, but had subsequently been intensively settled by pagan Slavs and church organization there had broken down, although the ‘Roman’ inhabitants may have remained Christian. The Bulgars, who first settled south of the Danube in 681, had built up a huge kingdom by the mid-ninth century.⁸⁶ Most of them were still pagan at that time, but Khan Boris (852–89) wished to establish Christianity as the religion of his state, and invited both Orthodox and western Catholic missions to evangelize his people before finally acknowledging the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople in 870.⁸⁷

In Bulgaria during the 870s well-instructed Christians must have been comparatively few, because it took a long time to establish a network of Orthodox parish clergy in the villages. Christian and pagan mythologies must therefore have coexisted in the minds of most people, and many of

84 For further details see Loos, *Dualist heresy*, pp. 336–9. Yuri Stoyanov has drawn our attention to an important new work, Yovkov, *The Pavlikians and the Pavlikian towns and villages*, pp. 190 ff. (in Bulgarian with an English summary).

85 He does not name him, which suggests that he wrote his account between February 870, when the Archbishopric of Bulgaria was set up by the Council of Constantinople, and the appointment of the first incumbent before 5 October 870 (Dvornik, *The Photian schism*, p. 157, n. 1).

86 See map.

87 Fine, *The early medieval Balkans*, pp. 94–131.

them must have been aware that there were various ways of practising the Christian faith, because they had seen both Orthodox and Catholic missionaries at work. In such a society Paulician preachers would not have seemed at all out of place.

That the Paulicians did make converts in Bulgaria in the late ninth century is confirmed by John the Exarch, a scholar-priest writing in the reign of Boris's son, Symeon (893–927), who denounced Manichaeans and pagan Slavs 'who are not ashamed to call the devil the eldest son of God'.⁸⁸ The term Manichaean when used by Orthodox clergy in the ninth century invariably refers to Paulicians. But the belief attributed to the pagan Slavs, that the devil is the eldest son of God, had not been learned from the Paulicians, although it was later developed by the Bogomils.

Symeon's son Peter (927–69) was recognized as Tsar by the Byzantine Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus (920–44) and married Romanus' granddaughter Maria. During his reign Byzantine influence was strong in Bulgaria,⁸⁹ and when a new heretical movement appeared there Peter sought the advice of his wife's uncle, Theophylact Lecapenus, Patriarch of Constantinople. He was not noted for his theological acumen,⁹⁰ and his reply, presumably drafted by his advisers, is not very clearly expressed [10]. He describes the heresy as 'a mixture of Manichaeism and Paulianism'. Although Byzantines sometimes wrongly used the term Paulians to refer to Paulicians, it was normally reserved by them for the followers of Paul of Samosata,⁹¹ and Theophylact was undoubtedly using it in that sense, because he ordered that these new heretics should be reconciled to the Church in accordance with the forms used for the followers of Paul of Samosata.⁹² But the new heretics had nothing in common with the 'Paulians', who are an irrelevance in this context. Manichaeism was invariably equated by the Byzantines with Paulicianism, and Theophylact certainly supposed that the new heretics were in part Paulician, since he anathematized their teaching under fourteen heads, all but two of which are taken from Peter of Sicily's report. The two doctrines distinctive to the new heretics were these: anathema no. 2 shows them to be moderate dualists, who attribute the

88 Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 89, n. 3, p. 95.

89 Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, pp. 67–9.

90 Only one other letter issued by his chancery has been preserved (*RPI* (II), no. 789, pp. 222–4).

91 See Appendix 2.

92 Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, p. 115.

making of the material universe to the devil, and not absolute dualists like the Paulicians; and anathema no. 4 shows that, unlike the Paulicians, they have an ascetic lifestyle. Indeed, later in his letter the patriarch speaks of those who associated with these heretics supposing that 'they were ascetics and good and religious men'. The patriarch advised the tsar to impose the death penalty on any heretics who would not recant.

The first reliable account of the rise of Bogomilism is the *Sermon* of Cosmas the Priest. The earliest manuscript comes from the fifteenth century, and the only indication in the text about when it was written is that Tsar Peter (d. 969) is referred to as dead [15]. But although some scholars have argued that Cosmas wrote in the early thirteenth century, we find the arguments for a late tenth-century date more convincing.⁹³ The type of Bogomilism which he describes is more primitive than that recorded in later sources: for example, by the thirteenth century the Bogomils had a liturgy and a hierarchy of which there is no trace in Cosmas' account.⁹⁴ Moreover, there is no information in this text which is inappropriate to a work written in the last quarter of the tenth century. Nothing is known about the author except that he was an Orthodox priest writing in Old Slavonic. He is highly critical of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, which he holds responsible for allowing heresy to spread because of the corrupt lives of the clergy and their preoccupation with wealth, but that may be simply a rhetorical device designed to detract from the heretics' success by implying that they faced little opposition. For reasons of space we have not translated that part of Cosmas' work, because it adds nothing to our knowledge of the heresy. Cosmas begins his account: 'In the reign of the good Christian Tsar Peter there was a priest called Bogomil . . . who started for the first time to preach heresy in the country of Bulgaria' [15].

The Bogomils whom Cosmas describes were moderate dualists: they believed in one God who had two sons: the elder was Christ, the younger the devil; and the devil had fashioned the phenomenal universe. They rejected the Old Testament and based their teaching on the New Testament alone. They understood Christ's institution of the Eucharist allegorically, believing that at the Last Supper he had given his disciples the four Gospels (his Body) and the Acts of the Apostles (his Blood).

93 See the review of literature about this supported by the author's own comments: M. Dando 'Peut-on avancer de 240 ans la date de composition du *Traité* de Cosmas le prêtre contre les Bogomiles?', pp. 3–25.

94 See below, pp. 33, 34.

Although Cosmas ridicules this opinion as evidence of Bogomil ignorance, since the New Testament had not been written at the time of Christ's Passion, it is possible that the Bogomils, like their spiritual descendants the Cathars, believed that Christ brought down to earth these sacred books which had been written in Heaven and entrusted them to his Church.⁹⁵ They identified themselves as Christians, and although Cosmas does not directly say that they held a docetic Christology, that is implied by the rest of his account. The Bogomils totally rejected the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church. They lived an ascetic life, rejecting sexual intercourse, the eating of meat and the drinking of wine. They prayed frequently, using the Lord's Prayer, and did not observe any special religious feast days, treating Sundays like any other day. They made regular confession of their faults to each other, and Cosmas implies that they practised sex equality in that ministry.

Cosmas admits that the Bogomils seemed to lead good Christian lives, which made it difficult to distinguish them from the Orthodox. Some Bogomils were imprisoned for their faith, and consequently all of them had begun to adopt forms of passive resistance to evade conviction: they would reverence crosses and icons in churches if they wished to pass as Orthodox, and were prepared, when put on oath, to deny their heretical practices. Cosmas also accuses the Bogomils of wishing to overthrow the government: 'They teach their followers not to obey their masters; they scorn the rich, they hate the Tsar, they ridicule their superiors, they reproach the boyars, they believe that God looks in horror on those who labour for the Tsar and advise every serf not to work for his master' [15]. Perhaps the early Bogomils really were social radicals, although, if so, they soon lost their fervour, for there is no trace of such sentiments in any of the later evidence about them or about their western descendants, the Cathars. But it is possible that in this passage Cosmas is misrepresenting Bogomil teaching about the evils of all aspects of this world for polemical reasons.

Finally, Cosmas sees in the lifestyle of the Bogomils the fulfilment of St Paul's prophecy about the coming of Antichrist: 'Now the Spirit expressly says that in later times some will depart from the faith by giving heed to deceitful spirits and doctrines of demons, through the pretensions of liars whose consciences are seared, who forbid marriage and enjoin abstinence from foods which God created to be received with

95 Raynerius Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis*, ed. F. Sanjek (*AFP* 44 (1974), pp. 51-2).

thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth' (1 Tim. 4.1–4) [15].

Cosmas was writing at a time when there was a strong current of popular eschatological fervour in the Byzantine world: viewed in that context, the new heresy indeed appeared portentous.⁹⁶

Superficially Bogomilism seemed to have a good deal in common with Paulicianism. Both were Christian dualist movements whose adherents denied that the Good God had made the visible universe; both rejected the belief that Christ had taken our humanity upon him; both rejected the Jewish dispensation and its sacred books as diabolically inspired; both rejected the Orthodox Church, its hierarchy and its sacraments. Although this appears to be a very broad area of consensus, the view of spiritual reality which lay at the centre of Bogomil belief was quite different from that of the Paulicians.

The Bogomils believed in one God, the source of all being, whose sons were Christ and the devil; and they believed that the devil was the maker of the phenomenal universe. This view of God did not derive from the Paulicians or from the ancient Manichaeans: its nearest parallel in Near Eastern thought was in Zurvanism, a form of Zoroastrianism which had been strong in the Sassanian Empire, and which postulates the existence of a High God, Zurvan, who is the father both of Ohrmazd, the God of Light, and of Ahriman, the God of Darkness.⁹⁷ As John the Exarch proves, this belief was present in Bulgaria before the rise of Bogomilism, and may date from a period when the Bulgars had lived on the Russian steppes and had more opportunities of direct contact with Sassanian Persia.⁹⁸

The Bogomils did not derive their asceticism from the Paulicians, nor from the Zurvanites, neither of whom had any tradition of that kind. But the Manichaeans had required their elect to observe an ascetic rule of life, and their reasons for doing so were identical with those of the Bogomils, springing from a conviction that the material creation was evil. Although Manichaeism had died out in the Byzantine Empire by about 600, it still survived in the Islamic world when Bogomilism first appeared. The Caliph al-Muqtadir (908–32), a near contemporary of *pop* Bogomil, persecuted the Manichaeans of Baghdad, who took refuge

96 Alexander, 'Historiens byzantins et croyances eschatologiques', 2, pp. 1–8a.

97 Zaehner, *Zurvan: a Zoroastrian dilemma*, Appendix.

98 See the evidence of pagan Bulgarian temples in Stoyanov, *The hidden tradition in Europe*, p. 113.

in Samarkand, while the Uighurs of Turfan professed Manichaeism, and there were Manichaeans in China. Theoretically, travellers might have introduced Manichaean beliefs into tenth-century Bulgaria from these distant communities, but this seems unlikely. The linguistic problems involved in such transmission would have been considerable, nor would it be easy to explain why the Bogomils had only adopted the Manichaeans' lifestyle, while rejecting their belief system.⁹⁹

Byzantine theologians labelled Bogomil asceticism Messalianism. The Messalians, also known as Euchites, 'those who pray', were a Christian sect of the mid-fourth century who taught that original sin caused each human being to have an individual demon which was resistant to baptism and could only be driven out by a life of constant prayer and extreme mortification. When this process had been successfully completed, the Christian would receive an immediate vision of the Holy Trinity. Their opponents claimed that enlightened Messalians considered themselves above the moral law and committed all kinds of excesses. There is no evidence that organized Messalianism survived beyond the seventh century,¹⁰⁰ even though the label continued to be used by Byzantine heresiologists to describe excesses in Orthodox monastic practice [23(b)]. There can therefore have been no possibility of contact between the Bogomils and a living Messalian tradition.

But there is no need to postulate an exotic origin for Bogomil asceticism. *Pop* Bogomil taught his followers to live like Orthodox monks: they should meet together for prayer at regular times each day and night, remain celibate, and abstain from eating meat or drinking wine. The monastic way of life was believed by the Churches of East and West in the central Middle Ages to approximate most closely to the life of Christian perfection, and the Bogomils were criticized not because the way in which they lived was in itself wrong, but because their motives for embracing asceticism were different from those recognized by the Orthodox tradition. Monastic *ascēsis* involved giving up things which were of their nature God-given, in order the better to respond to Christ's invitation to self-denial,¹⁰¹ whereas the Bogomils gave these things up because they believed them to be inherently evil and therefore incompatible with the practice of the Christian life.

99 *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 279, n. 22; Lieu, *Manichaeism in the later Roman Empire and medieval China*, pp. 84–5.

100 For a brief survey of Messalianism, see Bareille 'Euchites', 1454–65. For a Byzantine understanding of this heresy see [23(b)].

101 Luke 9.23.

The tentative conclusion which these considerations suggest is that *pop* Bogomil's movement was deeply indebted to the Orthodox Church, from which he derived the monastic concept of holiness which he sought to cultivate among his followers. His moderate dualism, while it may have owed its initial stimulus to Paulician preachers who were certainly active in Bulgaria in his lifetime, nevertheless had a close resemblance to the beliefs of the Zurvanite Zoroastrians with which some Bulgarians seem to have been familiar before his day.

Bogomil was also indebted to the Orthodox Church in another way. Khan Boris had patronised Sts Clement and Nahum, who introduced the Old Slavonic translations of the Bible and the Orthodox liturgy in the Bulgarian Church and founded a flourishing school at Ochrida in western Macedonia for the translation of Greek texts into Old Slavonic.¹⁰² It was the Old Slavonic text of the New Testament which *pop* Bogomil used as the foundation of his teaching.

The simple religion described by Cosmas soon became far more sophisticated. As Yuri Stoyanov has rightly observed, the materials for this development were to hand because of the school of translation founded by Sts Nahum and Clement: 'What remains undisputed is the link between the crystallization of Bogomil doctrine and the influx of a rich and diverse apocryphal literature in tenth-century Bulgaria, some of which came to be adopted for the purpose of Bogomil propaganda.'¹⁰³

Byzantine Bogomilism

The fifty years following the death of Tsar Peter in 969 were a troubled time in Bulgarian history. First the country was occupied by the army of Prince Sviatoslav of Kiev, then in 972 John I Tzimiskes, arguably the greatest general to occupy the Byzantine throne, turned out the Russians and brought Bulgaria under direct Byzantine rule. But in Basil II's reign (976–1025) the Bulgarian Empire was restored under Tsar Samuel (after 987–1014), and Basil only finally reconquered it in 1018 after a lengthy series of campaigns.¹⁰⁴ During that period Bogomilism was able to grow virtually unchecked, and by the early eleventh century it had spread into the Greek-speaking lands of Byzantium. The Byzantine annexation of Bulgaria must have made this easier, and the presence of large numbers

102 Soulis, 'The legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs', pp. 21–43; Vlasto, *The entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, pp. 78, 163–72; Fine, *The early medieval Balkans*, pp. 134–7; Obolensky, 'Clement of Ohrid', in *Six Byzantine portraits*, pp. 8–33.

103 Stoyanov, *The hidden tradition in Europe*, pp. 132–3; Ivanov, *Livres et légendes bogomiles*.

104 Fine, *The early medieval Balkans*, pp. 181–99.

of Slavs who had been settled in the Asiatic provinces since the mid-seventh century may also have helped the Bogomil missions.¹⁰⁵

The earliest account we have of Byzantine Bogomilism is the letter written in c. 1045 by Euthymius of the Periblepton monastery in Constantinople [19]. Unfortunately, he is not distinguished for his clarity of exposition – indeed, the text of his letter might justly be described as rambling – but it does contain a good deal of information about the way in which Bogomilism was spreading and evolving as a faith in the first half of the eleventh century.

Euthymius did not know the *Sermon* of Cosmas the Priest, written in Old Slavonic, and did not associate the heretics he describes with Bulgaria, but his evidence broadly corroborates that of Cosmas, although there are some significant differences between the two accounts. One merit of Euthymius' work is that he did not suppose that the Bogomils were the votaries of an older heresy, and therefore did not attempt to ascribe to them inappropriate beliefs and practices. But the chief problem in handling this text is that of trying to separate factual information from the excessive anxieties which these heretics inspired in the writer. In that regard it is, no doubt, an advantage that Euthymius did not have a very subtle mind.

He tells us that the Bogomils called themselves true Christians, but were known by various names among the Orthodox: 'the people of the Opsikion [theme] call . . . [those] who are members of this most evil blasphemy Phundagiagitae, but towards the Kibbyrhaiot [theme] they call them Bogomils' [19]. The name Phundagiagitae has never been satisfactorily explained: it may be cognate with *phunda*, 'a bag', and relate to srips which these heretics carried. Euthymius discovered a Bogomil 'cell' in his own monastery, but he also gives details of other Bogomils, including John Tzurillas, a heretical minister at Acmonia. Michael Angold has argued that Tzurillas was not a Bogomil at all, but a follower of Eleutherius of Paphlagonia (d. 950), who had practised a kind of mystical Messalianism. We do not find this view convincing, because although the two movements had certain negative features in common, they differed in one very central way: the followers of Eleutherius were each allowed two wives to show how superior they were to carnal temptations, whereas John Tzurillas and his followers considered it

105 Under Constans II, *ibid.*, p. 66; Justinian II, Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium*, pp. 41–4; Constantine V, Anastos, 'Iconoclasm and imperial rule', p. 74.

essential to salvation to separate from their wives, which is a distinctive Bogomil trait.¹⁰⁶

The chief difference between the Byzantine Bogomils described by Euthymius and the Bulgarian Bogomils described by Cosmas is that the former had adopted an initiation rite which enabled them to make a distinction between fully professed members of their church and sympathizers. There is no clear evidence that this had been the case with the primitive Bogomils described by Cosmas. Euthymius describes how candidates were required to undergo a long and rigorous period of ascetic training which culminated in a ceremony at which the Gospel book was placed on the candidate's head and a hymn was sung. He believed that this ceremony involved the washing off, or renunciation, of Orthodox baptism, although there is no evidence for this in any other source. Perhaps he inferred that this took place because he could not otherwise explain how it was possible for Orthodox believers to apostatize.

He also cites part of the Bogomils' daily liturgy: 'The leader . . . takes his stand and begins by saying: "Let us adore the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." Those who pray with him answer: "It is right and fitting." He begins the Our Father . . . making a genuflection; they bob their heads up and down like those who are possessed' [19]. Euthymius is the earliest witness to the use by the Bogomils of a *Ritual*, closely related to the Cathar *Rituals* and the Bosnian *Ritual* of Radoslav (Appendix I).

He admits that the Bogomils' way of life was very austere. All the initiated were required to live as celibates. John Tzurillas and his wife lived apart and styled themselves abbot and abbess, and these titles suggest that they had formed their followers into single-sex communities of the kind which later became common in the Bogomil Church of Bosnia [39] and among the Cathars of the West, but it is not clear how generally this pattern of life was adopted by eleventh-century Bogomils elsewhere. Euthymius also implies that the initiates renounced all property, for he describes them as being left with only one tunic apiece, and he adds that they devoted themselves to a life of liturgical prayer built round the Lord's Prayer. He says nothing about a Bogomil hierarchy apart from reporting that Tzurillas was called *papa* by the people of Acmonia, not just by his own followers. This may simply have been a courtesy title which local people gave to a respected religious leader. But

106 Angold *Church and society in Byzantium*, pp. 472–6.

as Bogomil had been called *pop*, and as Nicetas, the leader of the Bogomils of Constantinople in the twelfth century, was known as *papa* [37(a)], it is possible that Tzurillas had this title because he held an office in the Bogomil Church.

The movement caused Euthymius grave anxieties because it was spreading very rapidly: he reports outbreaks in the Opsikion, Thrakesion and Kibyrriaion themes¹⁰⁷ and in the 'regions towards the West', as well as in Constantinople and its environs. Moreover, the Bogomils were indistinguishable in appearance from the Orthodox. They were prepared at need to conform to Orthodox practices, to take part in Orthodox worship and even to receive the Orthodox sacraments, while attaching no importance to them. If challenged about their faith, Euthymius adds, they will say that they believe 'all that we do'.

But Euthymius did not believe what the Bogomils told him about themselves. Although they claimed to be continuing the evangelical work of Sts Peter and Paul, he was certain that they were in fact spreading the teachings of heretics with the same names: thus not Simon Peter, but Simon Magus was their spiritual father, and, more recently, Peter the Wolf (Lycopetrus), who, transported to the Caucasus by art magic, claimed that he would rise bodily from the dead, and did so in the form of a wolf. Euthymius accused the Bogomils of worshipping Satan. The purpose of their initiation rite was, in his view, to make candidates subject to the power of the devil, and he asserted that the Bogomils had told him that they had received from Peter Lycopetrus 'a satanic spell which we call the Revelation of St Peter'. Euthymius was sure that it was this, not the text of the Gospel, which they recited over the candidate at his initiation, although he was unaware of it. If the Bogomils really did tell Euthymius that they read the Revelation of St Peter (even though there is no evidence that it played any part in their initiation rite), this would show that they were already beginning to use apocryphal writings, as well as the New Testament. That work, which was Gnostic in origin, would have appealed to them because of its cosmology, which assumes that the phenomenal world is the work of an imperfect demiurge.¹⁰⁸

Given these premises, which are totally unsupported in any other source and which appear to be the product of Euthymius' own spiritual insecurity, it is difficult not to feel sceptical about other information of a similar

107 See map.

108 Ch. Maurer, text tr. H. Duensing, 'The Apocalypse of Peter', in *NTA* II, pp. 663–83.

kind which he gives: for example, that if Bogomils have their children baptized in the Orthodox Church they go home and wash off the baptismal water with urine; or that those who make their communion in the Orthodox Church secretly spit out the consecrated Host and trample it under foot.¹⁰⁹ Because the Bogomils tended to be considered saintly people, since their way of life approximated closely to the Orthodox ideal of holiness, Euthymius feared that they were deliberately seeking to infiltrate the Orthodox hierarchy: that they not merely dressed and behaved like monks and priests, but that they also exercised monastic and priestly functions in order to undermine the Church's saving work. He claimed that one Bogomil had gone so far as to build, and serve as priest in, an Orthodox church in order to profane the sacred mysteries.

Euthymius' work affords evidence that some groups of Bogomils had been influenced by Paulicians. When writing of the heresiarchs whom the Bogomils truly revere, he tells the story of Sergius, the disciple of Lycopetrus, and his dog Arzeberius. This tale has nothing to do either with the Bogomils or with the Paulicians, but is a folkloristic attempt to explain why the Armenian Church keeps the Fast of Nineveh.¹¹⁰ Yet the Sergius who figures in it is Sergius-Tychicus, the last *didaskalos* of the Paulicians.¹¹¹ This suggests that some Paulicians, probably from western Anatolia, where Bogomil missions operated, were converted to the new teaching, and that their own folklore had become part of the general Bogomil tradition by the 1040s.

Yet although Bogomilism was clearly spreading in many parts of the Byzantine Empire in the first half of the eleventh century, the imperial authorities did not take any special measures to combat it.¹¹² The Bogomils found in the Periblepton monastery seem to have been disciplined by their own superiors, but no action was taken against John Tzurillas, for example: he had earlier been put on trial for rape, not heresy.

109 Almost contemporaneous with Euthymius is the assertion of Cardinal Humbert in 1054 that Nicephorus, the *sacellarius* of the patriarch Michael, had 'trodden the sacrifice of the Latins under his feet in the sight of everyone' (Michael Cerularius, *Edictum Synodale* (PG 120, 743-4)).

110 This is a two-week pre-Lenten fast kept by the Armenian Church.

111 Gouillard, 'L'Hérésie dans l'empire byzantin', pp. 316-18.

112 A set of anti-dualist anathemas found in some manuscripts of the Synodikon of Orthodoxy probably date from the tenth century, but relate to beliefs which Bogomils and Paulicians held in common, and may well have been formulated against the Paulicians. ([16(c)]) J. Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'orthodoxie: édition et commentaire', *T & M* 2 (1967), pp. 230-2.

The reason for this inaction should probably be sought in the political circumstances of the empire during the years following Basil II's death in 1025. Thirteen emperors held power in the next fifty-six years, which produced a lack of continuity in central government policies, while the empire was threatened by Normans in the west, Patzinaks to the north, and Turks in Anatolia.¹¹³ It is not surprising that the imperial government did not accord high priority to checking the spread of a quietist dissident movement.

All the patriarchs who presided over the Byzantine Church in this troubled period, Alexius the Studite (1025–43), Michael Cerularius (1043–58), Constantine III Lichudes (1059–63) and John Xiphilinus (1064–75), were concerned to combat heresy, but their energies were directed against the non-Chalcedonian Christians of the eastern provinces, whose leaders they sought to bring into full dogmatic union with the Orthodox Church. Cerularius varied this policy only by quarrelling with the Roman pontiff as well about differences in faith, usage and jurisdiction.¹¹⁴ Cosmas I of Jerusalem (1075–81) was the first patriarch of Constantinople since Theophylact Lecapenus to take any action against the Bogomils.

His letter to the metropolitan of Larissa in Thessaly, although it contains very little new information, casts an interesting light on the popular perception of Bogomilism: 'To those who say that Satan is the creator of the visible creation and call him the steward of thunder, hail and all that is provided by the earth, anathema' [41]. If lay people were beginning to attribute such powers to the evil Archon, this might help to explain why Bogomilism was popular in rural areas. The patriarch also anathematizes '*pop* Bogomil who welcomed the Manichaean heresy in the time of King Peter of Bulgaria and spread it throughout Bulgaria . . . ' [41]. This is the earliest mention of Bogomil in a Greek source, and shows that the Byzantine Church in the eleventh century considered that he was indeed the founder of the new heresy.¹¹⁵

The Patriarch Cosmas abdicated for political reasons in 1081, so his anti-Bogomil measures were not followed through. Most members of the Orthodox establishment do not seem to have considered that the Bogomils were particularly dangerous. Theophylact of Ochrida, Archbishop of Bulgaria (c. 1090–c. 1118), for example, makes few clear

113 Angold, *The Byzantine empire*, pp. 12–58.

114 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 127–40.

115 Cosmas' condemnation of him may have been incorporated in a provincial recension of the Synodikon of Orthodoxy dating from Alexius I's reign [16 (a)].

references to them in his writings,¹¹⁶ even though the cradle of Bogomilism lay in his own province.

Alexius I (1081–1118) was very strongly opposed to heresy, but was too occupied with defending his state from attack by the South Italian Normans, the Patzinaks and the Seljuk Turks, to have leisure to act against the Bogomils in the early years of his reign.¹¹⁷ His daughter Anna in her history of his reign [24] and his theologian, Euthymius Zigabenus [25], who are the chief sources for the history of Bogomilism at this time, both agree that the heresy was well concealed, probably because the Bogomils looked like Orthodox monks. Anna writes: 'You would never see a lay hair-style on a Bogomil; the evil is hidden under a cloak or a cowl. A Bogomil has a grave expression; he is muffled to the nose, walks bent forward and speaks softly, but inwardly he is an untamed wolf' [24].

Alexius may have become alarmed about this sect because some of the great families in the capital patronised its members.¹¹⁸ Yuri Stoyanov has suggested that this was in part a consequence of the marriages which Basil II had arranged between Bulgarian princesses and Byzantine noblemen, because some of the women in Tsar Samuel's family were known to have had Bogomil sympathies.¹¹⁹ Certainly the Bulgarian imperial family did marry into the greatest families of Byzantium: the Emperor Alexius' mother-in-law was Maria of Bulgaria.¹²⁰

Alexius arrested a Bogomil named Diblatius and tortured him in order to discover details of the movement's organization. He found that it was led by a certain Basil, who dressed as a monk, and who, Zigabenus tells us, was a doctor who had 'studied erroneous doctrine for fifteen years and taught it for more than forty'. [25] If true, this would mean that he was in his seventies when he was brought to trial, and was a link with the first known Bogomil cell in Constantinople reported by Euthymius of the Periblepton. Anna says that his closest advisers were a group of twelve apostles, together with some women disciples. The number may not be exact, and perhaps is intended to imply that he was a counterfeit Christ,

116 Most of these references might equally well relate to the Paulicians (Obolensky, 'Theophylact of Ochrid', in *Six Byzantine portraits*, pp. 34–82).

117 Angold, *The Byzantine empire*, pp. 102–13.

118 'The evil had weighed heavily even on the greatest houses'. See [24]. On the role of the monk as spiritual director see Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118*, pp. 90–102.

119 Stoyanov, *The hidden tradition in Europe*, pp. 135–6; Anguélov, *Le Bogomilisme en Bulgarie*, p. 104.

120 Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* 2.6 (ed. B. Leib, vol. 1 pp. 80, 173 n.).

but her comment suggests that he had what western Cathars would call a 'council', made up of members of both sexes.¹²¹ The historian Zonaras, who was a contemporary, places these events immediately after the passage of the First Crusade through the capital in 1097, and they certainly took place before 1104, the latest date for the death of the Sebastocrator Isaac, who was involved in the proceedings.¹²²

According to Anna, Alexius and his brother Isaac invited Basil to the Great Palace and asked him to enlighten them about the Christian faith. It was a clever but credible approach, since the Comneni brothers appeared to be treating Basil as an Orthodox monk who was a respected spiritual director; and this provided him with an opportunity of converting the emperor, which, had he succeeded, would have turned his sect into an imperially protected movement. No doubt a number of meetings took place, for the emperor was able to learn about the organization and membership of the Bogomil movement in Constantinople, as well as about its faith.

Alexius then had Basil and his associates arrested, and Basil was examined by Euthymius Zigabenus, who provides the only systematic description of Bogomil theology that we have. It agrees in the main with the accounts of Euthymius of the Periblepton and Cosmas the Priest, and amplifies them, as a comparison of these texts will show the diligent reader. Bogomilism was clearly still evolving in the late eleventh century: for example, Basil and his followers accepted the non-historical books of the Old Testament as divinely inspired, as well as the whole of the New Testament.

Zigabenus provides further evidence about Paulician influence on the Bogomils: 'they banish all the pious emperors from the fold of Christians, and say that only the Iconoclasts are orthodox and faithful, especially [Constantine V] Copronymus' [25]. Since Iconoclasm ended about a century before the birth of Bogomilism, this opinion must reflect Paulician influence, for the Paulicians had every reason to honour the memory of the Iconoclast emperors.¹²³ Basil claimed to have a text of the Bible which had not been edited by St John Chrysostom, which is another way of saying that it was a different text from that which the Orthodox used. There is no easy way of verifying whether this was so, since no copy of the Bible used by the Bogomils has ever been found, but

121 There is no evidence that women were ever members of Cathar councils.

122 Zonaras *Epitome historiarum*, XVIII, 23, ed. Buttner-Wobst, pp. 742-4; Angold. *Church and society in Byzantium*, pp. 485-6.

123 See above, pp. 15-19.

it is possible that they may have used a text which, like the Cathar New Testament of Lyons, contained a number of significant variant readings, while in general conforming to the Vulgate.¹²⁴ Zigabenus also obtained a Bogomil commentary on St Matthew's Gospel, from which he cites extracts from chapters 1–9 in order to put his readers on their guard against the ways in which Bogomils allegorize the text of holy scripture. This is the only exegetical work which has come down to us from any eastern Christian dualist sect, and so it forms a particularly valuable piece of evidence.¹²⁵

Zigabenus relates that the Bogomils at first instructed their followers in those beliefs and practices which they shared with the Orthodox, and only later expounded the beliefs which were particular to themselves, and in his *Narratio* he gives a description of the kind of instruction that Bogomil converts received. This is the only known example of Bogomil methods of catechizing, and for that reason we have translated it in full [25, 'Origin myth'].

Efforts were made to convert the Bogomils; Alexius, as guardian of Orthodoxy, reasoned in person with the Bogomil 'apostles'. All those who recanted were released,¹²⁶ but a hard core remained, led by Basil, who was burnt alive in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. His was the only death: the other unrepentant Bogomils were imprisoned for life.

In 1107 Alexius ordered a special group of preachers to be attached to the Church of the Holy Wisdom, partly to instruct the population of the capital about the dangers of heresy. We have included a sermon of this kind to give some indication of the form which this instruction took [27].¹²⁷

Gouillard suggests that the Bogomil anathemas found in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy used in the province of Athens are based on the canons of the synod which condemned Basil. The only new information which they give is that the Bogomils read the *Vision of Isaiah*¹²⁸ and recited the

124 Clédat, *Le Nouveau Testament traduit au xiii^e siècle en langue provençale*, Hamilton, 'Wisdom from the East', pp. 49–52.

125 A commentary on St Matthew is ascribed to the Paulician leader Sergius-Tychicus in an anti-Bogomil section of a text of the Synodikon of Orthodoxy [16 (d)]. If this relates to the work cited by Zigabenus, then that must have been a Paulician commentary adapted for Bogomil use. See *T & M* 4 (1970), p. 191.

126 See the forms for the reception of Bogomil converts, [26].

127 Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium*, p. 487.

128 Gouillard, *T & M* 2 (1965), pp. 232–3. The text of *The Vision of Isaiah*, is in Ivanov, *Liures et légendes bogomiles*, pp. 133–60; an English translation is in Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, no. 56A, pp. 447–58.

Lord's Prayer without the doxology which was customarily used in the Byzantine Church [16(d)].

There is no mention of dualist heresy in Byzantine sources for some forty years after Basil's trial. Then in the 1140s a series of heresy trials, allegedly involving Bogomils, were held in Constantinople. In May 1140 a synod convoked by the Patriarch Leo Stypes (1134–43) found evidence of Bogomilism in the writings of Constantine Chrysomallus, who had recently died in the monastery of St Nicholas at Hieron [28]. These writings were withdrawn from circulation and burned. Chrysomallus allegedly insisted on the need to 'have been catechized and receive regeneration and the formation of the discipline of their souls through the mediation and laying on of hands of the expert stewards of this great mystery, who are skilled in holy knowledge', [28]. This could be construed as evidence of the Bogomil rite of initiation by baptism in the Holy Spirit, and was so construed by the synod, but most scholars now consider that he was not a Bogomil, but a follower of the great Orthodox mystic, St Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022), who emphasised the importance of the union of the individual soul with God.¹²⁹

The trial is important chiefly because it alerted the authorities to the possibility that Bogomilism was still at work among church leaders. Soon after the Emperor Manuel I was enthroned in 1143, the new Patriarch Michael II of Oxeia (1143–46) presided at a synod, at which imperial judges were also present, to try two Cappadocian bishops accused of heresy. They were found guilty of Bogomilism and condemned to solitary confinement, although nothing in the charges made against them bears any relation to that heresy [30]. Their trial was to have important repercussions.

A monk called Niphon, who was widely regarded as a holy man and who had been held in esteem by the late emperor John II (1118–43),¹³⁰ protested against this judgment, and he too was condemned as a Bogomil and imprisoned in the Periblepton monastery at Constantinople [31]. The Patriarch Michael reacted violently to this evidence of the growth of heresy, and during his reign the synod took the unusual step of commanding that unrepentant Bogomils should be burnt without reference to the civil courts, a ruling which later embarrassed the great canon lawyer, Theodore Balsamon [29].

129 Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 276; Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium*, pp. 489–90.

130 Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium*, p. 78.

But in 1146 the Patriarch Michael retired and was succeeded by Cosmas II Atticus, who immediately released the monk Niphon from prison and allowed him to teach freely. The content of his teaching is not known in any detail, though he is said to have rejected the God of the Jews, which might be evidence that he shared a Bogomil view of the Old Testament, but which might mean nothing more than that he pointed out that the Jews did not believe in the Holy Trinity [31]. The patriarch defended Niphon's orthodoxy, but by doing so gave a handle to his own enemies: on 20 February 1147 at an assembly of bishops and lay officials over which the Emperor Manuel presided he was found guilty of favouring Bogomils solely because he had released the monk Niphon, whom the Holy Synod had convicted of that heresy, and he was deposed [32(a)]. The patriarch was not himself convicted of holding or teaching Bogomil doctrines. He certainly had many enemies, who used his friendship with Niphon to conduct a campaign of vilification against him, as John Tzetzes, a member of his household, had the courage to warn the emperor [32(c)]. But it seems unlikely that Manuel would have agreed to Cosmas' deposition on such flimsy grounds unless he had had other reasons for wishing to be rid of him, and it is possible that he believed that Cosmas was siding with his elder brother, the Sebastocrator Isaac, in a plot to seize the throne [32(b)].

In the 1140s Constantinople seems to have been in the grip of Bogomil fever: the accusation of being a covert Bogomil then became a very useful weapon against opponents of all kinds, because it touched on a general fear, that Bogomils were masters of disguise who were in league with the powers of darkness and were intent on overthrowing the divinely ordained society of Orthodox Byzantium. In fact they occupied much the same place in the public imagination as Communists did in that of the USA during the 1950s (see also [35]).

There were, of course, still a large number of real Bogomils in the provinces; there is evidence of them at Philippopolis¹³¹ and at Moglena, west of Thessalonica [33]. There is also evidence which suggests that Manuel ordered the arrest of Bogomil provincial leaders, but it is difficult to interpret. This is the work usually called *The Dialogue concerning Demons* [34], which used to be attributed to Michael Psellus (d. 1078), but which Gautier has argued dates from the mid-twelfth century and may have been written by Nicholas of Methone. Gautier's dating is

131 Browning, 'Unpublished correspondence between Michael Italos, archbishop of Philippopolis, and Theodore Prodromos', *Byzantinobulgarica* 1, pp. 279–97; reprinted in his *Studies on Byzantine history, literature and education*, no. VI.

more convincing than the traditional one, which would mean that the treatise was written at a time when no action was being taken against the Bogomils by the imperial authorities.¹³²

The treatise is cast in the form of a dialogue between Timothy and Thrax, the man from Thrace. There is no doubt that it is about Bogomils. Thrax describes the heretics as those who believe in a three-fold God: a Father who is supreme, his younger Son who rules the heavens and his elder Son, Satanael, who rules the earth and is 'the creator of plants and animals and everything that is composite' [34]. This is the Bogomil cosmology described by all earlier writers. The narrative is discursive: Thrax tells us that he had visited the city of Elasson in Thessaly and tried to arrest the local Bogomil leader and his followers and take them back to Constantinople to stand trial, but had been prevented from doing so, presumably by the strength of local opposition. His chief informant about the heretics was a monk called Mark Mesopotamites. A scholion in an early manuscript states: 'This Mark came from Thebes. At first he was a teacher of the Bogomils, later he became Orthodox. He encountered Thrax who had been sent against the Bogomils' ([34], note 6).

Michael Angold points to independent evidence that the Mesopotamites family had a connection with Thebes in the early twelfth century.¹³³ It would seem, therefore, that Thrax's mission was directed to Thessaly and Hellas, and the presence of Bogomils in those provinces during the twelfth century is confirmed by the fact that special anti-Bogomil anathemas were added to the Synodikon of Orthodoxy by the church of Hellas at that time [16(d)].

The quality of information which the *Dialogue* contains about the Bogomils is poor. They are accused, as heretics so often were, of disgusting and orgiastic practices, far removed from the asceticism of the Bogomil elect; and of worshipping Satanael and his minions. Angold is certainly correct in saying that because Orthodox observers could not accept that the Bogomil initiation rite was a true vehicle of grace, they had to suppose that it was diabolically inspired.¹³⁴ One consequence of this was that Bogomils were believed to be particularly well informed about the operation of demons. The chief interest of this text is that it reveals that there was a great deal of overlap between the Bogomil and

132 Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium*, p. 496.

133 *Ibid.*, p. 498, n. 125.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 499.

Orthodox views of the place of demons in the natural order. Thrax explains to Timothy that there are six different kinds of demons who have varying powers, all of whom can harm people in a variety of ways, including making them ill.

The author of this *Dialogue* was no more credulous in his view of demons than most Orthodox believers whom we know about in this period. The demon-haunted universe of Euthymius of the Periblepton has already been described [19]. Anna Comnena, a well-educated laywoman, interpreted the hailstorm and the earthquake which occurred on the night of Basil the Bogomil's arrest as 'an expression of anger on the part of the enraged demons of Satanael' [24]; while even Zigabenus, a learned theologian with a logical mind, took the presence of demons in the natural world completely for granted.

In a universe in which demons were so powerful and walked abroad so openly, Bogomils, who claimed to be able to free men from their dominion, could compete on terms of parity with the Orthodox clergy who claimed identical powers. Given that it was popularly believed that demons were responsible for many kinds of illness, the profession of doctor exercised by Basil the Bogomil may well have helped him in gaining an entrée to the great houses of Constantinople.¹³⁵

The Bogomils and the West

After Alexius I's reign Greek and Slav sources provide very little information about the internal history of Bogomilism, but this lack can in some measure be supplied from western sources. There is now a virtual consensus among scholars that Catharism was in origin a western form of Bogomilism. Although there is still considerable disagreement about when Catharism first appeared in the West, it is certain that it was securely rooted there by the 1140s.¹³⁶ At first all the Cathars were moderate dualists, and described themselves as members of the *ordo Bulgariae*. This term might best be rendered 'the Bulgarian succession', meaning the succession of spiritual baptisms (which the Cathars called consolings) which linked them to the Church of the Apostles.

But in *c.* 1170 *papa* Nicetas, Bogomil bishop of Constantinople, visited the West, claiming that consolings performed within the Bulgarian *ordo* were invalid [37(b)]. He represented the *ordo Drugonthiae*, and he presided over a Cathar Council at Saint-Félix near Toulouse attended by

135 Greenfield, *Traditions of belief in late Byzantine demonology*.

136 Lambert, *Medieval heresy*, pp. 55–61.

the Cathar bishops of Northern and Southern France and Lombardy. He reconsoled all the Cathar perfect present, reconsecrated the bishops, and consecrated three additional bishops for the southern French communities. He recommended that the churches should define their diocesan boundaries in the interests of future harmony, claiming that that was the practice of the churches of the East [37(a)].

All western sources show that the Cathars who traced their descent from Nicetas and the *ordo* of Drugonthia were absolute dualists, like the Paulicians, but they were not Paulicians because they shared with the members of the Bulgarian *ordo* an ascetic way of life and a common form of worship and of organization, which indicates that both groups had a common origin.¹³⁷ Drugonthia and its many variations are western attempts to render the name Dragovitia, which as Dujčev has shown designates 'the region of the Rhodope mountains to the south of Philippopolis'.¹³⁸ There was a strong Paulician presence in twelfth-century Philippopolis, and it is possible that Paulician converts to Bogomilism may have been responsible for the adoption of absolute dualist beliefs by the Church of Dragovitia/Drugonthia.¹³⁹ Zigabenus and earlier Byzantine sources knew nothing of this schism, which must have developed between c. 1100 and c. 1170 when Nicetas came to the West, by which time the Dragovitian *ordo* had been adopted by the Bogomil church of Constantinople.

Before the schism occurred, but after Zigabenus wrote his account of them, the Bogomils adopted a distinctive form of episcopal government, in which each diocesan bishop was assisted by two coadjutors, known as his elder and younger sons, who had rights of succession. This system closely resembles the Bogomil teaching about God and his two sons. The first known Cathar bishop was tried at Cologne in 1143,¹⁴⁰ but the first known Bogomil bishop is Simon, or Symeon, of Drugonthia, the consecrator of Nicetas [37(b)]. Whether this form of government first developed among the Cathars or the Bogomils, it antedated the schism, because both moderate and absolute dualist Bogomils practised it.

The Saint-Félix document preserves a list of five Bogomil Churches which it attributes to Nicetas: Rome, Dragometia (that is Dragovitia),

137 Hamilton, 'The origins of the dualist church of Drugunthia', pp. 115–24; Nelli, *La Philosophie du catharisme*. See also Nelson, 'Religion in "histoire totale"', pp. 67–70; Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium*, pp. 490–5.

138 Dujčev, 'Dragvitsa–Dragovitia', pp. 218–19.

139 Hamilton, 'The Cathars and the Seven churches of Asia', pp. 282–3; Obolensky, 'Papa Nicetas'.

140 Appendix to the Letters of St Bernard, no. CDXXXII (PL 182, 679).

Melenguia, Bulgaria and Dalmatia [37(a)]. Any Byzantine Greek, and Nicetas, to judge from his name, was a Greek and not a Slav, would have understood the word Roman to mean Byzantine, and the *Ecclesia Romana* of which he spoke must be the Bogomil Church of the Byzantine Empire, ruled from Constantinople, over which he himself presided. The Church of Dragovitia was the Bogomil Church of the Philippopolis region. The Church of Bulgaria was the mother-church founded by *pop* Bogomil. The Church of Melenguia can only, as Dossat pointed out, relate to the Slav tribe of the Milingui, who lived on the Taygetus range in the southern Peloponnese.¹⁴¹ This people, who remained Slav-speaking and effectively self-governing into the thirteenth century,¹⁴² would have formed a sympathetic audience for Bogomil preachers, and Bogomilism was already established in Thessaly and Hellas. The Church of Dalmatia is the earliest mention of what later became known as the Church of Bosnia [39]. There seem to be gaps in Nicetas' list: no mention is made of Anatolia or of Thessaly and central Greece, although there are known to have been Bogomil communities in both those areas, which were too distant from the capital to have come under Nicetas' jurisdiction.

Some years after Nicetas' visit the Bogomil Church of Bulgaria sent an envoy named Petracious to the Cathars of Lombardy, who reported that Bishop Symeon of Dragovitia, who had consecrated Nicetas, had fallen into mortal sin, and that all the consolings which derived from him were therefore invalid. This news produced a schism among the Cathars of northern and central Italy which was never subsequently healed. The Cathars of Desenzano remained true to the absolute dualism of Nicetas (as did those of southern France) and sent their bishop-elect to Dragovitia to be consecrated; but the other Cathars reverted to moderate dualism and turned for guidance either to the Church of Bulgaria or to that of Bosnia [37(b)]. During this period apocryphal writings used by the Bogomils were translated into Latin and circulated among the Cathars [38].

141 Dossat, 'À propos du concile cathare de Saint-Félix', pp. 209–14; he argued that this supported his view that the document was a seventeenth-century forgery. For counter-arguments that have been generally accepted see Hamilton, 'The Cathar council of Saint-Félix reconsidered', pp. 23–53. Nelson, 'Religion in "histoire totale"', pp. 67–70; Moore, *The origins of European dissent*, pp. 212–15; Lambert, *Medieval heresy*, pp. 126–8.

142 Lurier, tr., *Crusaders as conquerors*, pp. 159–60. Cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 50, pp. 232–5.

The success of the western missions and the close links which the Italian Cathars maintained with the Balkan Bogomils are sure signs of how vigorous Bogomilism was in the second half of the twelfth century. This is borne out by Theodore Balsamon, who remarked how whole towns and villages in the provinces were given over to Bogomilism, and no attempt was made to stamp it out.¹⁴³ Moreover, Bogomils were still to be found in the capital in the later years of Manuel's reign.

This is known from the *Adversus Patherenos*, a tract against the Bogomils written by Hugh Eteriano, a Pisan living in Constantinople, who was one of Manuel I's advisers on western Church affairs [36]. He was well established in Constantinople by 1166, and so this tract must have been written between c. 1160 and Manuel's death in 1180, most probably in the 1170s. It has not been published before.¹⁴⁴ Hugh was writing about Byzantine Bogomils, not Cathars living among the western residents in Constantinople: the whole tenor of his work makes this plain, particularly his references to the Orthodox churches and relics of the city and the cult of the icons. The tract was written at the request of unnamed noblemen in order to persuade the emperor to impose the death penalty on the Bogomils. Hugh's chief concern is therefore to supply his patrons with authorities which they can cite against Bogomil practices. The charges which he brings against the Bogomils are familiar ones, except that of their refusal to swear oaths. Hugh came from a society which was held together by ceremonies of oath-taking, and was very shocked by this: 'Without oaths the world could not and cannot be firmly based', he comments [36].

His intervention had no effect. Manuel did not prosecute the Bogomils, nor did any of his successors in the troubled quarter of a century following his death in 1180, when the empire was beset by frequent palace revolutions, external attacks, and revolts in the Balkans which led to the creation of an independent kingdom in Serbia and a revival of the Bulgarian Empire.¹⁴⁵ The attack on Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1203–4 caused further political fragmentation in the Byzantine lands. The Byzantine Emperor and the Orthodox Patriarch established their courts in exile at Nicaea, while other independent Byzantine states were set up in Trebizond and Epirus. The remaining imperial territory was divided between the Latin Emperor of Constantinople and the

143 Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 393.

144 Dondaine, 'Hughes Éthérien et Léon Toscan'; Dondaine, 'Hughes Éthérien et le Concile de Constantinople'.

145 Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West*; Fine, *The late medieval Balkans*, pp. 1–59.

Venetians.¹⁴⁶ In the lands under western rule Orthodox bishops were replaced by Latins,¹⁴⁷ so that after 1204 there was no longer a unified secular or ecclesiastical authority in the Byzantine world to direct the fight against Bogomilism.

In the early thirteenth century the Papacy became involved in combating Bogomilism in Bosnia. Although the Slav rite was used there, Bosnia was part of Catholic Christendom, and its Bans, though in practice independent princes, were technically vassals of the Kings of Hungary.¹⁴⁸ Nicetas had listed a Church of Dalmatia among the Bogomil churches (it is called Sclavinia in the Italian sources) [37(b)]. From the *History of Split* written in c. 1260 by Archdeacon Thomas and from the correspondence of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) it becomes clear that the Bogomils of Dalmatia were prosecuted for heresy by Archbishop Bernard of Split in the late twelfth century, and sought refuge in Bosnia. They were initially welcomed there by Ban Kulin, but under pressure from the King of Hungary the Ban agreed to a papal inquiry about their orthodoxy [39(a–c)]. This resulted in the Agreement of Bolino-Polje, made on 30 April 1203 between the legate, John of Casamaris, Ban Kulin, and the seven ‘priors of those men who until now have alone had the right to be called Christians in the land of Bosnia’ [39(d)]. The priors agreed to make their communities into orthodox, single-sex monastic groups within the Catholic Church.

J.V.A. Fine has questioned whether these men were Bogomils because there is no specific reference to their beliefs in the source.¹⁴⁹ We do not find his argument convincing. There would have been no point in requiring them to have chapels with altars, crosses and full texts of the Bible, and to celebrate Mass and recite the Divine Office unless they had previously failed to do so. But Bogomils rejected all those things, and lived in single-sex communities, as the followers of John Tzurillas had done in the early eleventh century [19], and as western Cathars universally did at this time. Moreover, the seven priors were required solemnly to swear that ‘henceforth we will not receive any known Manichaeian or other heretic to live with us’. ‘Manichaeian’ in the western Church at that time certainly meant Cathar, or in the case of Balkan heretics,

146 Nicol, ‘The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin empires’; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 35–107.

147 Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 193–221; Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, pp. 219–487.

148 Fine, *The late medieval Balkans*, pp. 17–21.

149 Fine, *The Bosnian church*.

Bogomil [39(d)]. Moreover, the Agreement of Bolino Polje does not exist in a vacuum: the whole context of the correspondence leading up to it implies that these heretics were Bogomils.

In 1202 Kalojan, ruler of Bulgaria, wishing to secure independence from Byzantium, opened negotiations with the Pope which led to the union of the Bulgarian Church with Rome and the coronation of Kalojan by a papal legate in 1204.¹⁵⁰ In 1206 Innocent sent another legate to Bulgaria on an unknown mission,¹⁵¹ and he may have persuaded the new Tsar, Boril, who came to power in 1207, to prosecute Bogomils. This is by no means certain, although the fact that Boril presided over a Synod at Trnovo in 1211 to legislate against Bogomilism at a time when the Albigenian Crusade was being fought in Languedoc seems too neat a match to be entirely fortuitous.

As Gouillard has pointed out, the legislation of this Synod consists of the anti-Bogomil pronouncements of the Patriarch Cosmas I arranged in a different order [21], with two additional clauses, neither of which relates to Bogomilism [41]. The most valuable part of the Synodikon for the historian are the anathemas of Bogomil leaders which it gives, among whom is Peter of Cappadocia, *dedec*, or *dyed*, of Sredets (Sofia). Obolensky has argued that *dyed* must be understood to mean a Bogomil bishop.¹⁵² This Peter was presumably the Bishop of the Bulgarian Bogomils in 1211.

The Agreement of Bolino-Polje did not mark the end of Bosnian Bogomilism. Honorius III (1216–27) tried to get King Andrew II of Hungary to take action against these heretics, but without success [42], and was worried by the report of his legate in Languedoc, Conrad, Cardinal of Porto, that a heretical antipope had arisen ‘in the regions of Bosnia, Croatia and Dalmatia, next to Hungary’, who had appointed ‘a certain Bartholomew of Carcassonne’ as his vicar in southern France [42]. There was some truth in this rumour, because the Bogomil Bishop of Bosnia was trying to restore moderate dualism among the Cathars of Southern France at that time, but Cardinal Conrad supposed that this heretical *papa*¹⁵³ was an antipope with jurisdiction over all the dualist churches.

Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) deposed the Catholic Bishop of Bosnia for tolerating heresy and in 1234 licensed the Duke of Croatia to make war

150 Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 21–2.

151 Alberic of Trois Fontaines, *Cronicon* (MGH SS xxiii, p. 886).

152 *The Bogomils*, pp. 240, 242–5.

153 Borst, *Die Katharer*, pp. 209–10.

on Bosnia with crusading privileges [43(a)].¹⁵⁴ Gregory was also concerned about the presence of Bogomils in Bulgaria. Papal influence had ended there in c. 1232, when the Bulgarian Church returned to the communion of the Orthodox Patriarch living in exile at Nicaea.¹⁵⁵ In 1238 the Pope incited King Bela IV of Hungary to crusade against Tsar John Asen II because of his toleration of heresy, but nothing came of this because of the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241–42, which also brought to an end the prolonged crusade against Bosnia [43(b)].¹⁵⁶

No attempt was made to prosecute Bogomils in the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The emperors were too involved in defending themselves against the rulers of Nicaea, Epirus and Bulgaria to have time to deal with heresy; while the Latin bishops were separated by a language barrier from the mass of the population and would have found considerable difficulty in trying to seek out heretics, particularly because Bogomils often appeared indistinguishable from Orthodox monks.¹⁵⁷ It is known from the sermons of the Orthodox Patriarch Germanus II (1222–40) that there were Bogomils living in the Empire of Nicaea [44],¹⁵⁸ but he was also concerned about the spread of heresy in the Latin Empire over which he claimed *de iure* spiritual authority, and he wrote an encyclical letter to the faithful of Constantinople on that subject. The Bogomils whom he describes are moderate dualists: ‘they name the devil the Son of God and brother of Christ’ [44(d)]. This, if true, would mean that the Bogomils of Constantinople had reverted to the moderate dualism which they had held in the time of the doctor Basil, and had renounced the absolute dualism of Dragovitia which *papa* Nicetas had introduced.

The papal Inquisition, created by Gregory IX in 1233 to deal with Cathars, was never established in Frankish Greece, but some of its officials were interested in what was happening there. Rainier Sacconi, a former Cathar minister who became Inquisitor for Lombardy, included a list of Bogomil churches in the *Summa*, or Treatise, about Catharism which he wrote in c. 1250: he names the Church of Slavonia, the Church of the Latins of Constantinople, the Church of the Greeks in the same place, the Church of Philadelphia in Romania;

154 CICO III (iii), nos. 194, 197, 198, 207, pp. 268–9, 271–2, 283.

155 Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy*, pp. 63–4.

156 CICO III (iii), nos. 229, 248, 248a, 248b, pp. 308–10, 325–8; Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, pp. 137–45.

157 Angold, ‘Greeks and Latins after 1204: the perspective of exile’.

158 On the work of Germanus II, see Angold, *Church and society in Byzantium*, pp. 547–54.

and the Churches of Bulgaria and Druguithia [*sic*] from which all the others trace their origin [45].

There is a large measure of continuity between this list and that given by Nicetas eighty years earlier. The Churches of the Greeks in Constantinople, of Bulgaria, of Dragovitia (Druguithia) and of Sclavonia are common to both.¹⁵⁹ Nicetas' Church of Melenguia is not listed by Sacconi. In the thirteenth century the Milingui were hemmed in by the Frankish princes of Achaea, with whom they were at war until 1248, so he may not have been able to find out anything about them;¹⁶⁰ alternatively the Bogomil Church there may have collapsed. Rainier lists two new Churches: Philadelphia in Romania, which almost certainly relates to the Bogomils in the Empire of Nicaea, against whom Germanus preached so vigorously;¹⁶¹ and the Church of the Latins in Constantinople. The only information which we have about the origins of that Church suggests that it dates from the time of the First Crusade, and the hypothesis of such an early date for a Latin Cathar Church in the Byzantine capital might help to explain why Bogomil missions were able to work successfully in western Europe in the twelfth century without experiencing language problems.¹⁶² Yet no such Church is mentioned either by *papa* Nicetas or by Hugh Eteriano, both of whom lived in the capital. A possible resolution of this problem might be that there were Latins as well as Greeks in the Bogomil community of Constantinople from the time of Alexius I, and that when the Bogomils adopted episcopacy in the twelfth century, there was initially one bishop in the city with authority over Greeks and Latins. It is known that Bishop Nicetas accepted the *ordo* of Dragovitia and its creed of absolute dualism, but that by the time of Germanus II the Greek Bogomils of Constantinople had reverted to the moderate dualist *ordo* of Bulgaria. It is arguable that when that first happened, some of the Latin Bogomils remained loyal to the *ordo* of Dragovitia and went into schism under their own bishop. This solution is entirely hypothetical.

Sacconi is the only authority to give any statistics of membership for the Bogomil Churches: 'The Church of the Latins in Constantinople has about fifty members. The Churches of Sclavonia and Philadelphia and of the Greeks [of Constantinople] and of Bulgaria and of Druguithia

159 Italian writers always referred to the Church of Dalmatia as the Church of Sclavonia.

160 Lurier, tr. *Crusaders as conquerors*, pp. 126, 131, 160–1.

161 See map.

162 Hamilton, 'Wisdom from the East'.

have in total about 500 members' [45]. These figures presumably represent fully initiated members, whom the Cathars called the perfect, and the number of 'lay' adherents would have been far greater. Sacconi was trying, for propaganda purposes, to minimise the threat posed by organized dualism to orthodox Christianity in East and West. If one takes a multiplier of 100 to estimate the proportion of believers to perfect, this only produces a figure of 55,000 dualist adherents scattered throughout the Balkan lands and the Greek and Latin Empires of Constantinople, and it seems likely that the true figure was much higher.

No later western writer makes any reference to contemporary dualist movements in Bulgaria or the Byzantine lands, though the Papacy remained interested in Bosnia because it formed part of the western Church. Between 1247 and 1251 Innocent IV sought to establish stricter control over the Bosnian Church by making it subject to the primate of Hungary, but it seceded from papal obedience.¹⁶³ It is often assumed that Bogomilism became the established Church of Bosnia at that point, but J.V.A. Fine has questioned this. While not disputing that there were Bogomils in Bosnia, he argues that the established Church remained the Catholic Church, which went into schism from Rome for political reasons, because the Bosnians did not wish to be under Hungarian control.¹⁶⁴ The thirteenth-century evidence does not help to clarify this problem: the sources simply speak in general terms of the presence of heresy there and in the neighbouring regions.¹⁶⁵

In 1325 Pope John XXII complained to Prince Stefan Kotromanič of Bosnia that 'a great crowd of heretics from many different regions has gathered together and migrated to Bosnia' [47]. This may have been true, because there are virtually no reports of any Cathar perfect in the West after that date.¹⁶⁶ A strategic withdrawal to Bosnia, where dualism had been tolerated since the late twelfth century, may have seemed the best solution to the Cathars of western Europe after ninety years of persecution, if, that is, they had retained enough organization to make concerted plans.

In this collection we have not attempted to deal with the subsequent history of Bosnian Bogomilism. Considerations of space have chiefly

163 Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, pp. 145–8.

164 *Ibid.*, pp. 148–57 (this is the thesis of the whole book). For a different view, see Sanjek, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques*.

165 E.g. CICO ser. III, V(I), no. 12, pp. 41–2; V (II), no. 49, pp. 92–5.

166 'The last [Cathar] bishop to be reported in Western Europe was captured in Tuscany in 1321; survivors continued for a time to find refuge, possibly in the Lombard countryside and the Alps' (Lambert, *Medieval heresy*, p. 144).

dictated this decision. There is a great deal of material about the Bosnian Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it would merit treatment in a separate monograph.¹⁶⁷

The end of Bogomilism

In 1261 the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (1259–82) recovered Constantinople, and the Latin Empire came to an end. The restored Byzantine state was small and fragile, consisting of western Anatolia, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus. Venetians held many of the Greek islands, while Frankish princes continued to rule much of central and southern Greece. In the reign of Andronicus II (1282–1328) almost all the Asian lands were lost to the Turks, and soon after his death the European lands of the empire were halved by the conquests of Stephen Dušan of Serbia (1331–55). Then in 1354 the Ottoman Turks seized Gallipoli and embarked on their conquest of the Balkans.¹⁶⁸ Evidence about the Bogomils during these troubled centuries is slight, but it shows that they continued to flourish, no doubt helped by the breakdown of centralized government.

In 1316 the parish priest of Bukovič, a village in southern Thrace, was accused of being a Bogomil, but although the case was dismissed by the Holy Synod in Constantinople, Bukovič remained a byword for Bogomilism, as is known from a secular lawsuit of 1330.¹⁶⁹ In the winter of 1316–17 the young St Gregory Palamas stayed in a monastery on Mount Papikion, ‘on the borders of Thrace and Macedonia’, where he disputed with some local heretics whom his biographer calls Messalians, but who were Bogomils, because they claimed that the Our Father was the only legitimate prayer and refused to venerate the Holy Cross, both distinctively Bogomil traits [48(a)].¹⁷⁰

Far more serious was the outbreak of Bogomilism in the early 1320s on Mount Athos, which was the monastic centre of the entire Orthodox world.¹⁷¹ The authorities there reported to the Holy Synod of Constantinople that the heretics were Bogomils who rejected the cult of the icons, taught that baptism and the Eucharist had no value, and did not believe in the incarnation of Christ or the bodily resurrection of the

167 See Fine, *The Bosnian Church*; Sanjek, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques*.

168 Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 45–264.

169 The Italian term *paterene* is used to describe the heretics (RP V, no. 2071; Loos, *Dualist heresy in the Middle Ages*, p. 332).

170 Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 32–3.

171 For detailed studies of Athos, see Athos, *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos*; for a brief account, see Cavarnos, *The holy mountain*.

dead.¹⁷² Nicephorus Gregoras gives an account of their trial and adds that some of them were given penances, but others were expelled from Athos, while some escaped during the trial and fled to Thessalonica, Berrhoea and Constantinople [48(b)]. The Patriarch Callistus I (d. 1363), in his *Life of St Theodosius of Trnovo*, reports that this heresy had entered Athos through the agency of an Orthodox nun in Thessalonica named Irene, who had a reputation for piety but was secretly a Bogomil, with whom brethren from Athos sometimes stayed when they went to that city on business [49]. No action seems to have been taken against the Bogomils who left Athos. Gregory Akindynus reports that in c. 1347 a group of Bogomils was still being led by George of Larissa (one of the leaders of the Athonite Bogomils), who preached openly and had the nun Porine among his disciples. She was that Irene whom Callistus claimed had first introduced Athonite monks to Bogomilism.¹⁷³

The prevalence of Bogomilism in Macedonia and Thrace at this time is also attested in the law code issued by Stephen Dušan in 1349 (revised in 1353/4). Serbia had been remarkably free of Bogomilism, because its rulers had co-operated with the Orthodox Church in suppressing it when it first appeared there in the late twelfth century,¹⁷⁴ but as Dušan conquered Byzantine territory he found Bogomils among his subjects, and enacted: 'If any heretic be found to live among the Christians, let him be branded on the face and driven forth, and whoever shall harbour him, let him be branded. And whoso utters a heretical word, if he be noble, let him pay 100 perpers, and if he be a commoner, let him pay twelve perpers and be beaten with sticks.'¹⁷⁵

Athos came under the protection of Stephen Dušan in 1345, and he accused the Greek *protos* Niphon, who was in charge of all the monasteries on the Holy Mountain, of being a Bogomil, but Niphon was successfully defended by St Gregory Palamas. This accusation seems to have been politically motivated, since the tsar almost certainly wanted to put a Serbian official in charge.¹⁷⁶

This outbreak of Bogomilism on Athos coincided with the growth of Hesychasm there. This movement was rooted in the tradition of contemplative prayer taught by St Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022)

172 Rigo, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili*, p. 173.

173 Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas*, p. 36.

174 Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, Appendix IV (2), pp. 283–5.

175 Dushan, *Dushan's code*, Chapters 10, 83, pp. 41, 61. 'Perper' is the common Western form of *hyperperon*, the standard Byzantine gold coin, which by the mid-fourteenth century had become a money of account.

176 Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas*, pp. 91–2.

and earlier by St Maximus the Confessor (d. 662). The Hesychasts claimed that it was possible to share in the experience of the apostles at the Transfiguration and see what they described as 'the uncreated Light of Mount Tabor' (Matt. 17.1–9). St Gregory Palamas became the leader of this movement, which met with great opposition from some circles in the Orthodox Church. Because the Hesychasts emphasized the importance of enlightenment through contemplation more than through the liturgy and the sacraments of the Church, they were sometimes accused of Messalianism, which had long been equated with Bogomilism (e.g. [48(b)]). Such accusations became untenable after a Church Council held in the Blachernae Palace at Constantinople in 1351 declared Hesychasm orthodox.¹⁷⁷

In his *Life of Theodosius* the Patriarch Callistus relates that two of the Bogomils expelled from Athos in the 1320s, Lazarus and Cyril Bosota (the barefooted), fled to Trnovo in Bulgaria, where they preached and made converts. Lazarus is said to have been an Adamite and to have urged his followers to be castrated. He was later reconciled to the Orthodox Church, and in view of the eccentric character of his teachings, which were without parallel in Bogomil history, it is legitimate to question whether he was a Bogomil at all. He is not named in the Athonite anti-Bogomil tome, as Cyril is,¹⁷⁸ and it seems likely that Callistus made a mistaken inference about him [49].

The Council of Trnovo in c. 1350 condemned the Bogomils for teaching cosmological dualism between the Good God of Heaven and the evil creator of this world. Obolensky finds this evidence of absolute dualism difficult to accept, because throughout its history the Bogomil Church of Bulgaria had been a bastion of moderate dualism.¹⁷⁹ But Cyril the barefooted may not have been a Bulgarian; he had come to Trnovo as a refugee from Mount Athos, and may therefore have been a member of the absolute dualist Church of Dragovitia. He and the priest Stephen, who refused to recant, were branded and exiled. St Theodore also accused the Bogomils of sexual excesses, but this was a standard part of the Orthodox repertoire of anti-dualist polemic, and no special significance need be attached to it [49].

Bogomilism persisted in Bulgaria, for when from c. 1365–70 the province of Vidin was occupied by the Hungarians, who allowed Franciscan missionaries to work there, they claimed that they had found and

177 For a general study, see Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm*.

178 Italian translation by Rigo, *Monaci esicasti*, pp. 173–4.

179 *The Bogomils*, p. 262, n. 1.

converted innumerable Paterenes.¹⁸⁰ This is our last evidence about Bulgarian Bogomilism: by 1393 the country had been conquered by the Ottoman Turks.

That Bogomils survived in what remained of the Byzantine Empire right up to the eve of the Ottoman conquest is known from the Treatise against Heretics of Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica (1416–29) [50]. He condemns a group called the *kudugeroi*, which Loos has suggested is a variant of the word *kalogeroi*, meaning ‘good old men’, a term used by the Byzantines to describe monks, but one which resembles the phrase ‘bonshommes’ used in thirteenth-century Languedoc to describe the Cathar perfect.¹⁸¹ The *kudugeroi* were undoubtedly Bogomils. Symeon alleges that they believed in two principles, and if this is true, then they were members of the Dragovitian school rather than moderate dualists, and the last members of that group about whom anything is known.¹⁸² Symeon gives little new information about the group except that ‘at the end of life they lead many of the pious astray and sever them from Christ, for at the time of their end they summon them to denial’. This appears to refer to the initiation of the dying, a practice which was universal among the Cathars of the West, though not attested elsewhere in connection with the Bogomils. But if, as suggested above, the Cathars obtained their *Ritual* from the Bogomils, then it was from them also that they are likely to have derived this practice, for which the Cathar *Ritual* of Lyons contains a special form of service.¹⁸³

In 1430 Thessalonica fell to the Ottomans, and during the next thirty years virtually all the surviving Byzantine lands passed under their rule. Nothing is known about the Bogomils under Ottoman rule, although it has sometimes been assumed that many of them were converted to Islam.¹⁸⁴ A more moderate and accurate conclusion is that of Yuri Stoyanov: ‘Evidence for such a Bogomil influx into Islam is lacking, and the obscurity surrounding their disappearance seems to result from the insufficient knowledge of the early religious history of the Ottoman Empire, with its array of sectarian and syncretistic movements, still a controversial and largely unexplored field.’¹⁸⁵

180 Loos, *Dualist heresy in the Middle Ages*, p. 334.

181 Duvernoy, *Le catharisme*, pp. 171–2.

182 Thessalonica is near Dragovitia; see map.

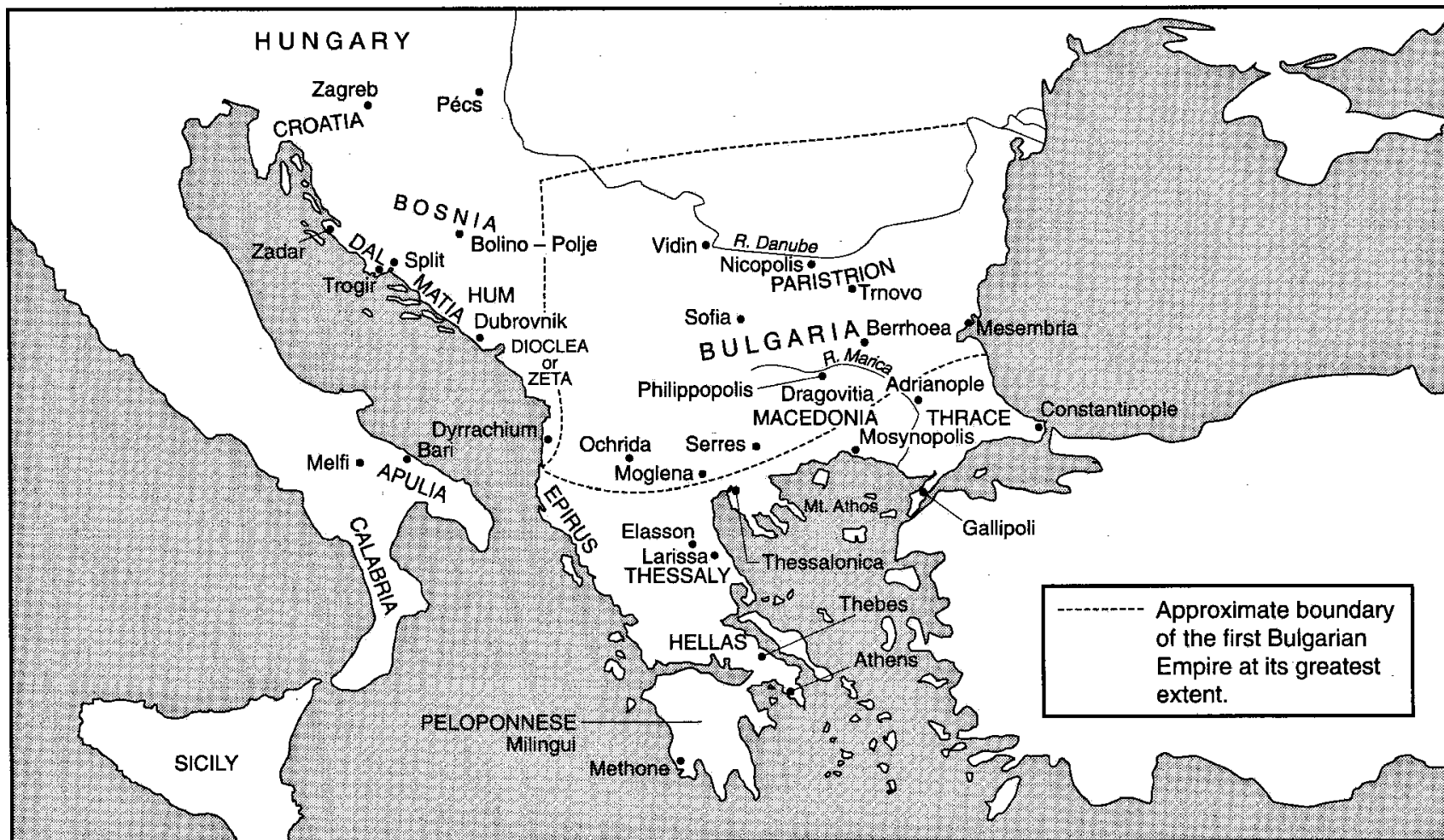
183 Clédat, *Le Nouveau Testament*, pp. xxii–xxvi; tr. Wakefield and Evans, in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, pp. 492–4.

184 E.g. Obolensky, *The Bogomils*, pp. 265–6.

185 *The hidden tradition in Europe*, p. 209.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Anna Comnena
AFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
CICO III	Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici Orientalis, <i>Fontes. Series III</i>
CMH	<i>Cambridge Medieval History</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i>
EP	Euthymius of the Periblepton
EZ	Euthymius Zigabenus
Mansi	G.D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio</i>
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores</i>
NTA	W. Schneemelcher, ed. and R.McL. Wilson, tr., <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> (Lutterworth Press, London, 1965), 2 vols.
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
PG	J.P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PH	Peter Higonomenos
PL	J.P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PS	Peter of Sicily
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
RP	<i>Les régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople</i> , ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès
T & M	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>



THE BYZANTINE LANDS 1: EUROPE



THE BYZANTINE LANDS 2: THE ASIATIC LANDS

GAZETEER

Medieval name

(as it appears on the map)

Modern name

Acmonia	Ahat Keui
Adrianople	Edirne
Amorium	Now abandoned
Antioch	Antakya
Antioch in Pisidia	Yalvach
Argaouin	Argovan
Ark'weli	Unchanged
Arsamosata	Shimshat
Athens	Unchanged
Bari	Unchanged
Berrhoea	Stara Zagora
Bolino-Polje	Unchanged
Caesarea	Kayseri
Chonac	Khonaz
Colonea	Sebin Karahisar
Constantinople	Istanbul
Dubrovnik	Unchanged (formerly Ragusa)
Dvin	Dabil
Dyrrachium	Durrës
Edessa	Urfa
Ejmiacin	Sometimes spelt Echmiadzin
Elasson	Unchanged
Ephesus	Now abandoned
Euchaita	Avkhat
Mt. Galesios	Alaman Dağ
Gallipoli	Gelibolu
Larissa	Larisa
Mt. Latros	Beş Parmak Dağ
Mamistra	Misis (Mopsuestia: classical)
Melfi	Unchanged
Melitene	Malatya
Methone	Methoni
Mesembria	Nesebar
Miletus	Now abandoned
Moglena	Meglana
Mosynopolis	Now abandoned
Myra	Now abandoned
Neocaesarea	Niksar
Nicaea	Iznik
Nicomedia	Izmit
Nicopolis	Nikopol
Ochrida	Ohrid
Pécs	Unchanged
Philadelphia	Alashehir
Philippopolis	Plovdiv

Samosata	Samsat
Serres	Serrai
Smyrna	Izmir
Sofia	Unchanged (Sardica, classical)
Split	Unchanged
Tarsus	Unchanged
Tavium	Precise location uncertain
Tefrice	Divrigi
Thessalonica	Salonika
Thebes	Thevai
Theodosiopolis	Erzerum
Tondrak	Near Malazgirt
Trebizond	Trabzon
Trnovo	Unchanged
Trogir	Unchanged
Tyana	Now abandoned
Vidin	Unchanged
Zadar	Unchanged
Zagreb	Unchanged

APPENDIX 2

ARMENIAN SOURCES AND THE PAULICIANS

The interpretation of Paulician history which we have given is substantially that of Paul Lemerle, and is based on the Greek sources. Dr N.G. Garsoian has argued that the Armenian sources present a different picture:

There were two traditions. The older form of Paulicianism exhibited an Adoptionist doctrine with an emphasis on the importance of baptism and a rejection of extreme asceticism, to which was joined an inflexible iconoclasm. This was the main current of the doctrine and it remained substantially unchanged in Armenia throughout the history of the sect. In Byzantium, however, a variant form appeared, probably in the ninth century . . . characterised by a docetic Christology and a mitigated dualism.¹

In other words she is claiming that the Armenian Paulicians were followers of Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch (deposed in 268), whose Trinitarian speculations are sometimes loosely described as Adoptionism, the belief that Jesus Christ was fully human by birth and nature, and owed His divinity to adoption by the Divine Word. Her thesis has not met with any wide acceptance, and we do not find the evidence she adduces convincing. She has firstly to prove that there were Paulicians in Armenia before the seventh century. The chief sources she cites are these. Firstly the Council of Sahapivan in 447 decreed that heretics called *Mctne* should be branded with the mark of a fox.² This name was used in fifth-century Armenia to describe the Messalians, who were then a living movement.³ That the Paulicians were described as *Mctne* in the eighth century and that the Tondrakians were punished in the same way in the eleventh century as the *Mctne* were in 447 does not appear to us very strong grounds for supposing that all three groups professed the same faith.⁴ The Greek sources commonly call Bogomils Messalians, because they share some characteristics with that heresy, but that does not prove that they are identical. The second piece of evidence which Garsoian adduces is the *Call to Repentance* of the Catholicus John I (478–90), which contains a phrase about penances to be imposed on the *Polikean*, which would mean Paulicians; but the manuscript dates from 1268, and Bartikyan has argued, with some plausibility, that this phrase may be interpolated. Thirdly, the Oath of Union of the Council of Dvin of 555 condemns those who receive communion at the hands of the

1 *The Paulician heresy*, p. 232.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 82–3.

3 Nersessian, *The Tondrakian movement*, pp. 8–9.

4 Garsoian, *The Paulician heresy*, pp. 94–5, 144.

Paulicians, but Bartikyan again has argued that this is almost certainly a scribal error made in the only manuscript of this text, written in 1298, and that it should read Paulianists (i.e. Adoptionists). This argument is persuasive, because the Paulicians did not celebrate the Eucharist, and the prohibition would have been pointless in relation to them.⁵

So we see no reason to doubt that the earliest secure evidence that we have about the Paulicians in Armenia comes from the reign of the Catholicus Nerses III (641–61) and correlates well with the evidence of Peter of Sicily.⁶

THE TONDRAKIANS⁷

That there were Paulicians in Armenia in the age of the *didaskaloi* is not in dispute. But after the fall of Tefrice Armenian sources do not speak of them, but begin to refer to the dualist heresy of the Tondrakians. They are first mentioned in a treatise of Ananias of Narek (943–65),⁸ and more detailed information about them is given in the correspondence of Gregory Magister, the Armenian Dux of the Mesopotamian theme in the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX (1042–55). The latter tells us that the sect was founded by a certain Smbat ‘the wolf’, from Tondrak near Manzikert, who lived ‘in the days of the Lord John and of Smbat Bagratuni’. This may refer to the Catholicus John V (899–931) and to King Smbat I (890–914), and fall in the period 899–914, although that would not synchronize with Gregory’s precise statement that the sect had been anathematized for 170 years, which, as he was writing in the mid-1050s, would place its foundation in the mid-880s. Nevertheless, both statements indicate that the movement was in existence by the first decade of the tenth century. Gregory Magister names seven leaders between Smbat the founder and ‘the light-haired hound’, Lazarus the Blind, who headed the sect in his own day.⁹

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 80–94 and Appendices I, II, pp. 234–8; Bartikyan, ‘Concerning the evaluation of certain sources on the Paulician movement’, pp. 85–97 (in Armenian). We owe our knowledge of this work entirely to Garsoian’s citations from it, but unfortunately we find these more convincing than her arguments.

6 See our Introduction, pp. 10–13.

7 We have not included material about the Tondrakians in this collection because the chief sources about them are already available in English in the appendices to Conybeare’s edition of *The Key of Truth*.

8 This is known only through citations from later authors, notably in a letter of Ananias’ nephew, Gregory of Narek.

9 The relevant parts of Gregory’s letters are translated in Appendix III of Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, pp. 142, 144; Nersessian, *The Tondrakian movement*, pp. 38–9, would prefer a foundation date in the first half of the ninth century.

That there was a connection between the Tondrakians and the Paulicians seems beyond doubt. Gregory Magister considered that both groups were Manichaeans, but that the Paulicians were found in the land of the Greeks, while the Tondrakians were Armenian.¹⁰ Paul of Taron (d. 1123) confirms this. Writing to a Byzantine correspondent, he says: '[the Tondrakians] whom you call Poplikianosk . . . are disciples of the evil Smbat . . . who got his poison from the sect of the Paulicians.'¹¹ Moreover, the two movements held many beliefs in common. The Tondrakians rejected Orthodox baptism as 'mere bath-water', together with the sacrifice of the Mass, Holy Orders, the sacrament of marriage and the sign of the cross.¹² On the other hand, they appear, if correctly reported, to have been moderate dualists rather than absolute dualists like the Paulicians,¹³ and some of them were world-renouncing, which was alien to the ethos of the Paulicians.¹⁴

So although it is tempting to see in the Tondrakians the survivors of Armenian Paulicianism, perhaps even the descendants of those who followed Vahan, better known as Baanes the Foul,¹⁵ there is no evidence to support this. A new religious movement founded by Smbat of Tondrak appears to have developed in Armenia in the generation after the fall of Tefrice, one which had much in common with the Paulician movement and no doubt recruited some of its adherents from the Paulicians of Armenia, but which remained distinct from it. Vrej Nersessian expresses this neatly: '[The Tondrakians] clearly had views similar to the Paulicians, but the fact that they split and presented themselves under two different names implies that there were two different sects, whose connections must be proved rather than assumed.'¹⁶

In the reign of Constantine IX (1042–55) Gregory Magister persecuted members of this sect throughout the theme of Mesopotamia, and made a special expedition to Tondrak, their place of origin, to destroy the cult there. He did not invoke the death penalty against them, although he could have done so under Byzantine law, but contented himself with outlawing the members of the movement and destroying their homes.¹⁷

10 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

12 Gregory of Narek in Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. 127.

13 Gregory Magister reports that they believed that Satan created the world (Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. 148).

14 Gregory Magister claims to have dissolved a Tondrakian monastery (*ibid.*, p. 148).

15 See our Introduction, p. 21.

16 Nersessian, *The Tondrakian movement*, p. 71.

17 Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, pp. 143, 146–7.

This did not mark the end of the sect, which is recorded as still active in twelfth-century sources,¹⁸ but all scholars agree that there is no mention of the Tondrakians after the fourteenth century.¹⁹

THE KEY OF TRUTH

Then in 1791 the Catholicus Luke informed the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople that he had imprisoned a certain John who had associated himself with the evil sect of the Tondrakians.²⁰ In 1837 members of this sect from the village of Ark'weli were involved in a heresy trial mounted by the Armenian Orthodox Church, and a copy of their service book, *The Key of Truth*, was impounded and placed in the library of the Catholicus at Ejmiacin. It was written by Yovhannes Vahaguni, and the opening words read: 'The book called *The Key of Truth*. It was written in the era of the Saviour 1782, but that of the Armenians 1230; and in the province of Taron.'²¹

As Nersessian has pointed out, if there is indeed a continuity between the medieval sect founded by Smbat of Tondrak and these late-eighteenth-century Tondrakians, their beliefs had changed a great deal over the centuries. For *The Key of Truth* is not a dualist work: it belonged to a sect which accepted adult baptism with water, celebrated the Eucharist, and held an Adoptionist, not a docetic Christology: that is to say, they believed that Jesus was a man who at his baptism was adopted by God as His son, not that He was a spiritual being who only had the appearance of a human body. All this is a far cry from the group described by Gregory of Narek and Gregory Magister.

It is difficult to explain how the name Tondrakian persisted, unless the sect had a continuous history from the Middle Ages to the late eighteenth century, but as Nersessian observes, that is not incompatible with a considerable shift in their belief-system.²² There is no evidence that *The Key of Truth* was inherited from the medieval Tondrakians, let alone from the Paulicians, and the chief reason for supposing that it might be is that it is written in an archaic form of Armenian. But the scribe of the 1782 manuscript, Yohvannes Vahaguni, may also be the author of the work. He had been to the Armenian monastery at Venice, where he could

18 Paul of Taron in Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, pp. 173–7.

19 Garsoian, *The Paulician heresy*, p. 145.

20 Nersessian, *The Tondrakian movement*, p. 89.

21 Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. 71.

22 Nersessian, *The Tondrakian movement*, p. 47.

have learned classical Armenian, and as Runciman has justly observed, liturgical writers tend to have 'a strange love . . . for archaisms in grammar, vocabulary and style'.²³ The Armenian scholar Ter Mkrttschian believed that Yohvannes had been influenced while living in Venice by western Baptists.²⁴ It is therefore possible that he composed *The Key of Truth* in archaic, liturgical Armenian as a vehicle for Protestant reforming ideals, and introduced it on his return home to the ancient dissenting sect of the Tondrakians. If in the late eighteenth century the sectaries underwent a reform of the kind suggested, this might explain why, after centuries of silence, they began to attract the attention of the Armenian Orthodox authorities once again.

It is our view that *The Key of Truth* has nothing to do with the history of Christian dualism, and we should not need to discuss it at all if it were not for the views of its editor and translator. F.C. Conybeare was a distinguished Armenian scholar, who found the manuscript of this work in the library of Ejmiacin and published it in 1898. He was convinced, as his subtitle made plain, that this was 'A Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia', and that it had been the service book of the medieval Paulicians. Conybeare was a nineteenth-century rationalist,²⁵ and was attracted to the theory that the original form of Christianity had been Adoptionism, the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was just an ordinary man who had been uniquely well-pleasing to God and adopted by Him at his baptism. In his very long introduction to *The Key of Truth* he sets out his reasons for thinking this, and describes how '[as a result of the European reformation] under the form of Anabaptist and Unitarian opinion, this leaven of the Apostolic Church [i.e. Adoptionism] is found modifying other forms of faith. In engendering this great religious movement, we feel sure that the Bogomiles . . . played a most important part. They were the chief purveyors to Europe of Adoptionist tenets, partly imbibed from Paulician missionaries.'²⁶ Conybeare considered *The Key of Truth* a very important piece of evidence, because he believed that it linked his own century with the Adoptionism which he supposed had been the most primitive form of Christianity.

This thesis has been revived in a modified form by Nina Garsoian. The main thrust of her argument is as follows: *The Key of Truth*, even though it

23 Runciman, *The medieval Manichee*, p. 56; Nersessian, *The Tondrakian movement*, appendix III, pp. 89–96.

24 Ter Mkrttschian, 'Die Thondrakier in unseren Tagen'. I owe this reference to Nersessian, *The Tondrakian movement*, p. 91.

25 Mariès, 'Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare'.

26 Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. cxvii.

only survives in a manuscript of 1782, is indeed a manual of the medieval Armenian Tondrakians who were themselves the continuing Church of the Paulicians. It portrays a community with an Adoptionist Christology and simple forms of sacramental worship, but one which is anti-sacerdotal and hostile to ceremonial and to representational art. It therefore follows that the early medieval Paulicians were Christians of that kind, and were followers of Paul of Samosata. Garsoian sets great store by this text, because she argues that it was written by the Paulicians themselves and that it should therefore be believed in preference to the hostile evidence of their religious opponents. Thus the detailed descriptions of the Paulicians given by Byzantine writers can at best be considered only as evidence of the beliefs of those Paulicians who settled in Byzantine territory, which were very different from those of the Armenian Paulicians. Garsoian, of course, adduces many more arguments than I have considered here, but the fact remains that if the 'Conybeare' thesis is rejected, then the rest of her arguments become either untenable or irrelevant.

But the acceptance of such arguments is only possible if one is prepared to dismiss as sectarian prejudice a large body of contemporary evidence which claims that the Paulicians and the Tondrakians were Christian dualists. The difficulty of setting aside a concordant body of contemporary evidence written by Greek, Armenian and Arabic authors, widely separated in space and time, many of whom were extremely hostile to each other's traditions and most of whom were unaware of each other's work, is considerable. Such a course of action could only be justified by accepting a conspiracy theory of vast dimensions, involving the Byzantine, Orthodox Armenian and Islamic establishments over a period of 700 years in a plot to conceal the truth about the Paulicians. The candid reader might feel justly sceptical if the sole evidence for believing in such a conspiracy was a liturgical book written in 1782, which does not even claim to be a copy of a medieval work.

We do not find the Conybeare/Garsoian thesis convincing. It does not appear to us consonant with the main body of historical evidence, and in any case the very simple teachings of *The Key of Truth* are not in the least like the subtle Christological distinctions of Paul of Samosata. Those who are interested must form their own opinions by reading the work of Conybeare and Garsoian, and we would also draw attention to Paul Lemerle's critique, with which we are in broad agreement.²⁷

27 Lemerle, *T & M* 5 (1973), pp. 12-15.

GLOSSARY

Allegorical interpretation of Scripture. The explanation of the symbolic meaning which Biblical texts have in addition to their literal meaning (e.g. the gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh which the Magi gave to the Christ child are allegories of his kingship, priesthood and sacrificial death). See also **Type**.

Anathema. Separation from the community of Christian believers.

Kat(an)athema is an alternative form of this word found in Rev. 22.3.

Antichrist. In the New Testament named as the Great Opponent of Christ. In the Middle Ages he was expected to appear on earth and initiate the final persecution of the Church before the Second Coming of Christ.

Antitype. See **Type**.

Apocalypse. The name given in the Middle Ages to the New Testament Book of Revelation.

Apocryphal writings. Writings which are ascribed to Biblical characters or which deal with Biblical themes but which do not form part of the **Canonical Scriptures** (q.v.). Some apocryphal writings were adjudged heretical by the Church (e.g. the Ascension of Isaiah), while others were considered to be merely works of pious fiction (e.g. the Protevangelium which describes the family life of the Infant Jesus).

Archon, evil. Literally 'ruler'. The evil archon was the devil, whom Jesus had described as the archon of this cosmos (John 12.31); or, in the view of some Christian dualists, the evil creator of the material universe.

Archons. In the Byzantine Empire this title was given to a wide range of local government officials.

Ascesis. Literally 'exercise'. The practice of religious exercises designed to gain mastery over the body in order to lead the life of Christian perfection (e.g. voluntary poverty, fasting, keeping vigil).

Autocrator. 'Sole ruler', the title of the senior Byzantine Emperor.

Basilissa. The title of the Byzantine Empress-consort.

Canonical Scriptures. The books of the Bible accepted as authentic by the Church. In the Middle Ages the Orthodox Church accepted the New Testament, and the Old Testament in the Greek translation known as the Septuagint. This included books which are known only in Greek texts and for which no Hebrew version exists (e.g. I, II Maccabees); in Protestant Bibles these are either omitted or printed as Apocryphal books. These should not be confused with **Apocryphal writings** (q.v.).

Catepan. From the late tenth century the title of the governor of the Byzantine provinces of south Italy.

- Catechumenate (architectural).** The narthex of a Byzantine church. An area separated by rails or columns from the entrance to the nave and set aside for the use of those who have not yet been baptised.
- Catechumens.** Those under instruction in the Christian faith who have not yet been baptised. **Oil of Catechumens:** holy oil used to anoint catechumens before their baptism.
- Catholicus.** The title of the chief bishops of the Armenian and Georgian Churches (and in the early Middle Ages also that of the head of the Church of Caspian Albania).
- Chalcedonian Christians.** Those who accept the decisions of the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon of 451, which the **Monophysites** (q.v.) rejected.
- Christopolites.** A fellow citizen with Christ (of the Kingdom of Heaven).
- Chrysobull.** A Byzantine imperial diploma sealed with a golden seal.
- Colophon.** The passage at the end of some manuscripts which gives information about their contents and the circumstances in which they were written.
- Comes.** The commander of a division in the Byzantine army in the ninth and tenth centuries.
- Consolamentum.** The rite of initiation of the Western Cathars.
- Cosmocrator.** This word, which literally means 'world-ruler', is used in the Greek New Testament to describe the powers of evil (Eph. 6.12), and was therefore sometimes used by Byzantine theologians as a synonym for the devil.
- Court of the belos/velos.** The court held in the covered hippodrome at Constantinople at which the **Great Drungarius** (q.v.) presided.
- Demiurge.** The English form of a Greek word meaning 'craftsman'. This term was used by some Gnostics to describe the creator of the physical universe, whom they considered distinct from and inferior to the Godhead.
- Docetic Christology.** The belief that Jesus Christ was a spiritual being who did not become human but only took the appearance of a man.
- Domestic of the Schools.** In the ninth century the senior of the four commanders of cavalry divisions stationed in Constantinople.
- Doux.** Before the eleventh century the governor of a small district in the Byzantine Empire. In the Comnenian period (1081–1185) this title was given to provincial governors.
- Elect Manichaeans.** Fully initiated members of the Manichaean faith.
- Elias the Tishbite.** The Greek name for the prophet Elijah.
- Encyclical letter.** A letter written, normally by a pope or patriarch, intended to be read aloud in all the churches subject to his authority.
- Eparch.** The city prefect of Constantinople.

Epode. A charm which is sung; in a pejorative sense a black magic spell.

Eschatology. The Church's teaching about the Last Things: death, judgment, Heaven and Hell. In general usage the term refers to Christian beliefs about the end of the world.

Exarch (ecclesiastical). An official appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople to oversee monasteries in a specified area.

Filioque clause. The words 'and from the Son' added by the Western Church to the section of the Nicene Creed relating to the Holy Spirit: 'I believe in the Holy Spirit the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son (*Filioque*)'. The Orthodox Church refused to accept this addition, which became a major cause of division between the Churches of East and West.

General Councils of the Church, also called Oecumenical Councils. Councils attended by representatives of the five patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, empowered to make decisions about matters of belief and practice binding on the entire Christian Church. The Orthodox Church recognizes seven General Councils: Nicaea I (325), Constantinople I (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople II (553), Constantinople III (680–1), Nicaea II (787).

Grand Domestic of the Schools. Commander-in-chief of the Byzantine army under the Comneni (1081–1185).

Great Church. The cathedral of Hagia Sophia (the Holy Wisdom) in Constantinople.

Great Drungarius. Under Manuel I (1143–80) this official became one of the principal judges of Constantinople, responsible for the **Court of the belos** (q.v.).

Higoumenos. The Greek word for abbot.

Holy City. If used without any qualification this term refers to Jerusalem.

Holy Synod. The standing committee which advised the Patriarch of Constantinople and from the tenth century came to possess important legislative, administrative and judicial powers.

Iconoclast. Literally 'a destroyer of images'. The term is generally applied to those opposed to the veneration of religious images in Orthodox churches, and when written with a capital 'I' relates to those Byzantine Emperors in the eighth and ninth centuries who sought to enforce this belief.

Iconodule. Literally 'an image-worshipper'. A term used to describe those who accept the veneration of religious images in Orthodox churches in accordance with the rulings of the Second General Council of Nicaea (787).

John Chrysostom, St, (d. 407). Patriarch of Constantinople and one of the four Greek Doctors of the Universal Church. Chrysostom occupied a particular place of honour in the Orthodox Church of Constantinople because the liturgy in daily use there was attributed to him.

John the Theologian, St. The normal way of referring in the Orthodox Church to St John the Apostle and Evangelist.

Kastron. A fortified settlement.

Krites. A Byzantine judge.

Kyr. Literally 'lord'. A polite form of address, which, like modern Italian 'signore', could be used of any man, including the emperor, and was also sometimes applied to the saints.

Legate, papal. The pope's personal representative charged with a specific mission; often, though not necessarily, a cardinal.

Libellum. Literally 'little book'. The written form of recantation which convicted heretics were required to present to the bishop when they were reconciled to the Orthodox Church.

Mediocrity (title). When spelt with a capital 'M', a title used by some Orthodox prelates as a token of their humility.

Metropolitan. In the Orthodox Church this was originally the title of a bishop who exercised authority over other bishops in a church province, but in the Middle Ages it was sometimes given as an honorary title to a diocesan bishop.

Monophysites. Literally 'those who believe in the one nature' (in Christ). The name given to those Christians who would not accept the teaching of the Fourth General Council of Chalcedon about the divine and human natures of Christ, and who for that reason are sometimes called 'non-Chalcedonian Christians'.

Mother of God. A literal translation of *Theotokos*, a title given to the Blessed Virgin Mary by the General Council of Ephesus in 431, and by which she is usually known in the Orthodox world.

Mysteries, sacred. The New Testament uses the term 'mystery' to describe truths revealed only to fully initiated Christians. In the Middle Ages the term was applied to the sacraments, particularly to the Eucharist.

Nicene Creed. A more elaborate version of the Creed endorsed by the First General Council of Nicaea in 325. It is accepted as a common profession of faith by all the traditional Churches of East and West.

Oecumenical Council. See **General Councils of the Church.**

Oecumenical Patriarch. The Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople.

Ordo. The term used by the Cathars to describe the chain of spiritual baptisms which, they claimed, linked them to the Apostles.

Orthodox Church. This consisted of Christians who accepted the teaching of the Seven General Councils of the Church and who were in communion with the five chief Patriarchs, those of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. Since the thirteenth century the four Eastern Patriarchs have not been in communion with the Patriarch/Pope of Rome and the Catholic Church of the West.

Panhypsebastos. A title created by Alexius I (1081–1118) for his brother-in-law, Michael Taronites, and conferred more generally as a mark of honour by later emperors.

Pansebastos. A title devised by Alexius I (1081–1118) for his brother Adrian and later granted to other members of the imperial kin.

Papa. See **Pop.**

Paraclete. Another name for the Holy Spirit.

Patarene. A word of uncertain origin used by medieval Italian Catholic writers to describe Christian dualists, both Cathars and Bogomils.

Patriarch. A title originally given to the five chief leaders of the Christian Church: the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem. The Bishop of Rome came to be known as the Pope, while the title of patriarch was later also conferred on other bishops (e.g. the heads of the Bulgarian and Serbian Churches).

Patrician. A title of honour given to some Byzantine officials.

Pentateuch. The first five books of the Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Phenomenal universe. The visible universe; that is, the material universe, as opposed to the spiritual universe (Heaven and Hell) which, the Church teaches, is not located in space and time.

Pop. Literally 'father'. A title given to Orthodox parish priests in Slav-speaking lands. It was used by Bogomil, the founder of Bogomilism, and by some of the leaders of the sect in later centuries. In Greek-speaking lands it became *papa*.

Proedros. A title conferred on some members of the Byzantine Senate.

Protoasecretis. Originally the head of the imperial chancery of Byzantium; by the reign of Manuel I (1143–80) he had become a judge.

Protomandator. The title of a ninth-century Byzantine provincial official.

Protos of Mount Athos. The monastic superior charged with the supervision of all the monasteries on the Mountain.

Protospatharius. A high-ranking official of the Byzantine court.

Quaestor. An important judicial official in twelfth-century Byzantium.

Rite, Slavonic, Greek, Latin, Armenian, etc. The forms of liturgy and ceremonial used in public worship, categorized by the languages in which they are celebrated.

Ritual. A service book containing standard liturgical forms for prayer and the celebration of the sacraments.

Sacellarius (ecclesiastical). The bursar of the Patriarch's court.

Scholion. A marginal note in a manuscript.

Sebastocrator. A title invented by Alexius I (1081–1118) for his brother

Isaac, to give him a rank superior to any other save that of Emperor. It was later more widely used.

Sebastohypertatos. An honorific invented for members of the imperial family by John II (1118–43).

Semeioma. An authenticated record, normally of judicial proceedings.

Synodikon. The official record of the acts of a provincial church council.

Theme. The name used from the seventh century to describe Byzantine provinces.

Tome. An official letter, normally an ecclesiastical record.

Type. Literally 'figure' or 'example'. Medieval churchmen interpreted the Old Testament as a prophecy of the Christian revelation, e.g. they considered that the sacrifice of Isaac was a type, or prophetic example, of the death of Christ on Calvary. An antitype is the person or event to which the type refers, i.e. Christ's death is the antitype of the sacrifice of Isaac.

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